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Divine Qualities

Cult and Community in Republican Rome

Anna J. Clark



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Cult and Community in Republican Rome

ANNA J. CLARK

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For my parents and James

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Preface

This book takes divine qualities (qualities that received public cult in Rome) in the last three centuries of the Republic as a lens through which to explore larger questions about community—about how Romans could and did think about themselves. Receiving public cult, divine qualities were part of Roman religion, which gave these gods whose names were also (more than) common nouns a particular resonance in ordering and explaining the world. ‘Roman religion’, however, is itself inseparable from other categories like ‘culture’ and ‘politics’. It is only by exploring the full range of forms in which divine qualities were expressed, and how people interacted with and through these—making, re-making, and contesting claims of association—that we can see something of the full complexity of the roles these qualities played in community formation. Divine qualities are found in contexts ranging from consular speeches to graffiti, festivals to passwords, plays to prodigies, coins to *horti*, temples to tombs, aristocratic competition and plebeian struggles for recognition to board-games and brothels, and from Rome to colonies and battle-fields. They do not simply occur so frequently because they were intrinsically important: their importance and their link to the city and ideas that were ‘Rome’ were brought about and sustained through the creation of, and interactions with and around, temples, altars, statues, coins, passwords, ‘appearances’ in plays, and dedications. Exploration of these interactions suggests that divine qualities were relevant to a broader cross-section of society than has usually been acknowledged. The fluidity of the boundaries between divine qualities, other gods, and other qualities, moreover, suggests that understanding the discourse of qualities is of wider relevance, and has more to reveal about ways of thinking and acting that came to be, and came to be thought of as, ‘Roman’.

This book began life as a D.Phil. thesis, written at Merton College, funded by the British Academy, and then the Arts and Humanities Research Board (now Council). The research carried out in Rome

was supported by the Craven Committee and the Committee for Graduate Studies in Oxford. The book was itself written in the privileged and very supportive surroundings of Christ Church, where I have an enviable range of colleagues with whom it is a great privilege to work. It is a pleasure to acknowledge many individual debts. Andrew Lintott was a supportive and immensely patient supervisor, who allowed me to find my own path but was always on hand with his immense erudition and healthy impatience with indefensible jargon. Christopher Smith continues to provide the boundless inspiration, enthusiasm, and support that he gave when I was an undergraduate. Emma Dench and Peter Derow examined the thesis and provided both encouragement and much food for thought. Nicholas Purcell oversaw the transition from thesis to monograph, and helped me to clarify my thinking on big questions as well as improving numerous detailed points. Very many thanks go to Ed Bispham, Bruno Currie, Matthew Leigh, Simon Price, and Teresa Morgan, who have all read one or more chapters of this book and improved more aspects of it than I can possibly mention, and especially to Richard Rutherford for his eagle eye and for selfless generosity in giving up time for proofreading. I am grateful, too, to Chris Howgego and Volker Heuchert, for help with both numismatic questions and the coin illustrations. During my graduate work Alastair Small taught me immense amounts about Rome on the post-graduate course at the British School at Rome, and allowed me to learn more by taking me along as his teaching assistant the following year. Many other people have helped in ways too numerous to mention here: Peter Brown, Janet De Laine, Matthew Gisborne, Inge Lyse Hansen, Olivier Hekster, Ted Kaizer, Arnd Kerkhecker, Fergus Millar, Robert Parker, Chris Pelling, John Rich, Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, Greg Woolf, participants in the graduate Work-in-Progress seminars in Oxford and courses at the British School at Rome, and my students. Only I can be held responsible for those defects or errors that remain. I have been unable to take account of scholarship appearing after August 2006, when the manuscript was delivered to the Press. I am grateful to all those at the Press, especially Hilary O'Shea, Dorothy McCarthy, Kathleen McLaughlin, Emma Tuck, Jenny Wagstaffe, and Virginia Williams, for their help in smoothing the path to production.

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AJC

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List of Abbreviations

AE	<i>L'Année Épigraphique</i> (1888–)
AHR	<i>Americal Historical Review</i>
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> (ed. H. Temporini and W. Haase, 1972–)
Athens, EM	Athens, Epigraphical Museum
BMC i	H. Mattingly, <i>A Catalogue of the Roman Coins in the British Museum I: Augustus to Vitellius</i> (London: Longmans, 1923)
BMC Corinth	B. V. Head (ed. R. S. Poole), <i>A Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum: Corinth, Colonies of Corinth etc.</i> (London: British Museum, 1889)
CAH	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>
CeRDAC	<i>Centro di Ricerche e Documentazione sull'Antichità Classica</i> (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider)
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> (ed. T. Mommsen <i>et al.</i> , 1863–)
EE	<i>Ephemeris Epigraphica, Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum Supplementa</i>
GL	H. Keil, <i>Grammatici Latini</i> , i (Leipzig: Teubner, 1857)
HRR	H. Peter, <i>Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae</i> , 2 vols. (2nd edn, Stuttgart, repr. 1993)
ILLRP	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae</i> , ed. A. Degrassi (1957–63)
ILS	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , ed. H. Dessau (1892–1916)
InAq	J. Baptista Brusin, <i>Inscriptiones Aquileiae</i> (Udine: Arti Grafiche Friulane, 1991–3)
Inscr. Ital.	<i>Inscriptiones Italiae</i> , xiii: <i>Fasti et Elogia</i> , ed. A. Degrassi (1937)
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> , ed. H.-C. Ackermann and J.-R. Gisler (1981–99)

<i>LTUR</i>	E. M. Steinby (ed.), <i>Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae</i> (1993–2000)
<i>MRR</i>	T. R. S. Broughton, <i>The Magistrates of the Roman Republic</i> , 3 vols.
<i>Not. Scav.</i>	<i>Notizie degli Scavi di antichità</i>
<i>RE</i>	<i>Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (ed. G. Wissowa, E. Kroll <i>et al.</i> , 1893–)
<i>RIC i</i>	H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham, <i>The Roman Imperial Coinage</i> , i: <i>Augustus to Vitellius</i> (London: Spink & Son, 1923)
<i>RPC</i>	A. Burnett, M. Amandry, and P. P. Ripollès, <i>Roman Provincial Coinage</i> , i (1992)
<i>RRC</i>	M. H. Crawford, <i>Roman Republican Coinage</i> , 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1974)
<i>TRAC</i>	Proceedings of the annual <i>Theoretical Roman Archeology Conference</i> (Oxford: Oxbow)

Other abbreviations are those of the relevant *Année Philologique*, and of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (3rd edn).

All dates are BC unless otherwise specified.

1

Divine Qualities

The dialogue of public religion is the matrix which held together the highly disparate elements of Roman society; I cannot establish that this entails theological sincerity, but the dialogue very certainly mattered.

Purcell (1996*b*), 801

The student of Roman virtue is confronted . . . by the fact that the major moral abstracts have a variety and complexity of meanings.

Lind (1972), 236

quarum rerum utilitatem video, video etiam consecrata simulacra
(‘I see the usefulness of these qualities, I even see that statues have been consecrated to them’).

Cicero, *Nat. D.* 3.61

QUESTIONING QUALITIES: VITUPERATION AND FORNICATION

When Carl Bridenbaugh gave his presidential address at the American Historical Association at the end of 1962, campaigning for understanding, imagination, and the investigation of individuals in the study of history, he attacked cliometricians in the following terms: ‘The finest historians will not be those who succumb to the dehumanizing methods of social sciences, whatever their uses and values, which I hasten to acknowledge. *Nor will the historian worship at the shrine of that Bitch-goddess, QUANTIFICATION. History offers*

radically different values and methods.¹ I am not concerned here with the debate on the usefulness of the approaches of social science to the study of history, discussion of which has of course moved on considerably since the 1960s. What interests me in Bridenbaugh's discussion of the values of history and of the study of history is his presenting one such 'value' as a goddess, with a shrine at which some historians 'worship'. His formulation was, of course, metaphorical. No one hearing his address, or reading the article, would believe that the shrine of QUANTIFICATION had a physical existence.

Juvenal, writing his virulent sixth satire on women in the early second century AD, included among his illustrations of the world in an age after PUDICITIA's (CHASTITY's) departure, a cameo of women's desecration, through micturation and fornication, of an altar of PUDICITIA:

Now wonder, if you can, why Maura sniffs the air with that sneer, as she passes by the old altar of PUDICITIA. What is her great friend Tullia whispering to the notorious Maura? Here, at night, they park their sedan-chairs, and pee in long jets, contaminating the goddess' statue. They take turns to ride each other, with the moon as witness to their movements, and then go off home.²

By making the altar of PUDICITIA both the setting for, and victim of, this incident Juvenal was able to accentuate the degrading nature of the women's public display.

In one sense, Bridenbaugh and Juvenal adopt similar means to a similar end: both evoke the shrine of a concept, in order to question the inherent value of that concept for particular people. The former denigrates the value (of) QUANTIFICATION by the very act of somewhat humorously representing it as a ('bitch'-)goddess receiving worship at such a shrine. By so doing he also denigrates those doing the 'worshipping', excluding them from his understanding of what historians are and what the values are that should hold them

¹ Bridenbaugh (1963), 326 (emphasis added, capitalization in original).

² Juv. 6.306–12: *i nunc et dubita qua sorbeat aera sanna / Maura, PUDICITIAE veterem cum praeterit aram, / Tullia quid dicat, notae collactea Maurae. / noctibus hic ponunt lecticas, micturiunt hic / effigiemque deae longis siphonibus implent / inque vices equitant ac luna teste moventur, / inde domos abeunt.* The order of lines 307 and 308 continues to be a subject of debate, and the textual lacunae mean that those described desecrating the altar cannot certainly be identified as Maura and Tullia.

together: QUANTIFICATION, he suggests, is a 'false god'. The latter, on the other hand, uses a long-established altar (*veterem aram*) to illustrate his satirical claim about a changed attitude to PUDICITIA by women. This forms part of his broader, unfavourable comparison of women in his own day with those of a previous era. For, where Bridenbaugh invented an imaginary 'shrine' to make his vivid, visual point, Juvenal could draw upon a real altar to make his.

Is this a significant distinction? Is there any reason to think that Juvenal's point would have been less well made had he, too, invented a shrine—to PUDICITIA—for his exemplarily unpraiseworthy episode, rather than being able to call upon one in physical existence? His basic message might have been little changed had no altar to PUDICITIA existed in Rome, had the altar in the satire been no more than the product of a poetic imagination. The episode at the altar, after all, illustrates and supports the point made at the very beginning of the sixth satire, namely that PUDICITIA had stayed among men in the (golden) age of Saturn, but then left the earth with Astraea. Forerunners of that story go back at least as far as Hesiod.³ The ability to personify in prose and especially in poetry was, moreover, certainly recognized in Rome. Quintilian, for example, notes, 'but we also often imagine figures, as Vergil does with Rumour, and as Xenophon records that Prodicus did with Pleasure and Virtue or as Ennius does when in a satire he presents Death and Life competing'.⁴ The physical *locus* of the old altar in this episode, however, together with the particular choice of PUDICITIA as the figure leaving the earth in this version of the story, allowed Juvenal to reinforce his point about previous veneration of this quality in the city. His

³ Juv. 6.19–20. Hes. *Op.* 197–200 with AIDOS and NEMESIS leaving the earth in the age of Iron. On the later development of this tale to the departure from the earth of all the virtues, of which DIKE was the last, Bömer (1969), 69–70, and cf. Aratus *Phaen.* 133–5; Verg. *G.* 2.473–4; Ov. *Met.* 1.129 and 149–50; *Fast.* 1.249–50.

⁴ Quint. *Inst.* 9.2.36: *Sed formas quoque fingimus saepe, ut Famam Vergilius, ut Voluptatem ac Virtutem (quemadmodum a Xenophonte traditur) Prodicus, ut Mortem ac Vitam, quas contententes in satura tradit Ennius*, referring to Verg. *Aen.* 4.173–4, Xen. *Mem.* 2.1, and an unknown satire. An awareness of the role of man in the elevation of certain qualities to divine status—a common observation among Christian apologists—was also articulated much earlier: Cic. *Leg.* 2.28, *Nat. D.* 2.61–2 and 79, 3.47; Publilius Syrus: *ex hominum quaestu facta FORTUNA est dea*; Dion. Hal. 2.75.2–4; Plin. *HN* 2.14–16; Lucian *Deorum Concilium* 13; Symmachus *Ep.* 1.20.1; August. *De civ. D.* 4.14–25.

employment of the adjective *vetus* ('old') does not allow us today to distinguish the precise altar to which he refers, although he might conceivably have had one of the two in Rome in mind.⁵ It was chosen rather to emphasize the long existence of a cult location, or cult locations, in the city and so to contrast older times with the present.

Another story, of the establishment of an altar to PUDICITIA in Rome by a Verginia at the beginning of the third century BC, presents a very different picture of that altar's role, in a dispute between patrician and plebeian *matronae*. The story is preserved for us only in Livy's version, from the Augustan age, which I shall examine in some detail in Chapter 2. Taken together, the two passages illustrate usefully how altars to PUDICITIA in Rome could be drawn upon at different times and for different purposes by writers in different genres. What both episodes share is an intent (on the part of Juvenal and Verginia/Livy) to make a claim about people connected in different ways to the altar.

Hundreds of years later, in the early fifth century AD, the existence and location of a temple to QUIES (among many others) provided St Augustine with an opportunity to question the state of mind of pagan Romans:

When calling upon QUIES, to create quietude, although she had a temple outside the *porta Collina*, they refused to adopt her into public cult. Was this proof of an unquiet mind, or did it rather signify that one who persisted in worshipping that crowd of what were clearly not gods but demons could never have QUIES?⁶

The authors of all three of these passages wished an inference to be drawn about the identity—understood as one or more of the characteristics—of individuals (Tullia and Maura?⁷), of groups

⁵ *pace* Courtney (1980), 297, who suggests the altar is that on the *vicus Longus* on the basis of Livy 10. 23.10, and Coarelli (1999a), who identifies it with that in the Forum Boarium. Describing the cult as having fallen into oblivion in his day, after having been 'degraded by polluted worshippers', is not a neutral comment on the cult on Livy's part; he is making a point not unlike Juvenal's.

⁶ August. *De civ. D.* 4.16: QUIETEM vero appellantes, quae faceret quietum, cum aedem haberet extra portam Collinam, publice illam suscipere noluerunt. utrum indicium fuit animi inquieti, an potius ita significatum est, qui illam turbam colere perseveraret non plane deorum, sed daemoniorum, eum QUIETEM habere non posse?

⁷ See n. 2.

(plebeian *matronae*), and/or of a whole community (women in Rome in the past; pagan Romans). Such passages form part of the material (stories spoken, acted, and/or written) around which ancients and moderns alike have shaped perceptions about 'the Romans'. This book is a study of the parts played by certain qualities in the formation of those perceptions.

A QUESTION OF IDENTITY?

...the Roman people even tended to consider *virtus* as a truly national factor which distinguished it from other peoples and explained its superiority and its triumphs.

Hellegouarc'h (1972), 244⁸

...if it is true, as no one doubts, that the Roman people has surpassed all other peoples in *VIRTUS*...

Nepos, *Hannibal* 1⁹

Identity and identities have been much in vogue in recent work by ancient historians and archaeologists, as in the humanities and social sciences more generally, reflecting and feeding into broader contemporary concerns. Current approaches eschew earlier conceptions of societies or cultures as bounded entities, susceptible of (prescriptive) definition by an external observer—historian, sociologist, anthropologist, or archaeologist. They transcend such (mis)understandings by acknowledging the importance of the *self-conscious* identification of individuals with different groups, and the plurality of identities, their subjectivity and mutability. They acknowledge the point—now clearly established, but still perhaps not always widely enough appreciated—that identities are not innate, unalterable, or pre-conditioned. They

⁸ '...le peuple romain tendait même à considérer la *uirtus* comme un élément proprement national qui le distinguait des autres peuples et expliquait sa supériorité et ses triomphes'.

⁹ *si verum est, quod nemo dubitat, ut populus Romanus omnes gentes VIRTUTE superarit...* Cf. Cic. *Phil.* 4.13 addressing the people and describing *VIRTUS* as *propria*... *Romani generis et seminis* ('the particular possession of the Roman stock and seed').

cannot simply be isolated or pinpointed through particularly visible cultural symbols, but are rather the product of many social processes, carried out by individuals and groups in particular circumstances. They are the result, in other words, of the production of and subsequent interactions with cultural symbols, as much as, or rather more than, of the symbols themselves.¹⁰

Much of the recent work on the Roman world in this field has focused on the Roman Empire, and the interactions between 'Romans' and inhabitants of conquered areas, in an attempt to give nuance to ideas about the processes described by the problematic term 'Romanization'. Associated assumptions, implicit or explicit, about what it was to 'be Roman' have also undergone refinement. The Republican period has received less attention in this area.¹¹ Since there is not and never was an all-embracing or definitive answer to the question of how Roman-ness was conceived, even when it *was* explicitly articulated, it is important to look beyond explicitly articulated perceptions of 'Rome', 'Romans', or 'the Roman people'. One approach that permits exploration of some of the social processes related to identity formation in the comparatively neglected Republican period is to examine how certain qualities, often attributed, then and now, to 'Rome' or 'Romans', were claimed by and associated with specific groups or individuals. Such an approach aims not to discover 'who the Romans were', or what 'being Roman' meant, but rather to explore how 'Roman-ness'—understood as the sum-total of such social processes—was lived.

The statements with which I opened this section, separated by a span of 2,000 years, raise a number of interesting questions. The 'tendency', described by Hellegouarc'h, to consider *VIRTUS* as a factor particular to the Roman people and its successes, merits fuller consideration. This is especially the case given that *VIRTUS* is not the only quality about which such an assertion has been made with reference to Romans. The idea of the importance of *FIDES* in Rome has led

¹⁰ Cohen (1994), *passim*, esp. ch. 6 is a very helpful discussion of the importance of including the individual in considerations of 'society' and social relations.

¹¹ A sample of the work probing beyond 'Romanization' should include Woolf (1994, 1998); Wallace-Hadrill (1998*b*, 2000); Laurence and Berry (1998); D. J. Mattingly (1997). For the Republican period note Habinek (1998); Williams (2001*b*); Gruen (1992); Dench (1995, and now esp. 2005).

Freyburger, for example, to ascribe to ‘the Romans’ traditional aristocratic morality’ a profound scorn and ‘instinctive repugnance . . . , doubtless ancient’ for ambush and betrayal. The terms of his argument show him here buying into, rather than analysing, a discourse representing Roman *FIDES* as surpassing that of any other community (a notion upon which Polybius’ famous explanation of Roman superiority was of course partly based).¹² Hellegouarc’h’s claim reflects in some ways his unconcern with historical change and with the shifting nature of the concepts he studied, at least in the main part of his largely philological work on political vocabulary. A number of questions must be addressed if he is right that Romans considered *VIRTUS* as something particular, or particularly important, to their community—and Nepos’ assertion shows that one Roman, at least, believed that such a view was widely held of and by the *populus Romanus*. Why and how, for example, did such a belief come into existence? More particularly, how was it sustained over time? Who was ‘the Roman people’? *Who* thought this way?

As historians we often find ourselves obliged to use shorthands such as ‘the Roman people’ or ‘the Romans’, but we should only ever do so with some awareness of the myriad of individuals, and of the complex individual thoughts and actions that make up such groups. Ideas, including ideas about *VIRTUS*, were part of what we might term Roman cultural identity—an aspect of Roman-ness that tends to be given less attention than it deserves.¹³ The possibility that one or more Romans might have held different, less positive views about the connection between *VIRTUS* and Romans than did Nepos does not of course in itself devalue such generalizations. My point is rather that it is precisely the discussions and claims about, and interactions over, *VIRTUS*, of various types and by different individuals and groups, that together make up the connection between ‘Romans’ and *VIRTUS*. Such interactions took place in various contexts, and

¹² Freyburger (1986), 106; Polyb. 6.56.

¹³ Dench (2005), a recent and significant exception, has important points to make (26) about the difficulty of getting beyond ‘the reception of Roman society as characterized by power and institutions rather than by culture’, particularly if ancient self-images, notably of what she terms the ‘secondarity’ of Rome in its relationship to the Greek world, are accepted, rather than problematized as an object of study. Purcell (2003) might be added to Dench’s bibliography, and makes complementary points.

such claims very much included those of people holding a range of alternative views. Naturally, such interactions and discussions were in reality very far from equivalent in terms of their effective force in actually shaping public dialogue, but it is the sum-total of these interactions, many of which are now lost to us, that would give a full picture of that dialogue.

If claims such as ‘Romans surpassing other peoples in VIRTUS’, and reactions to such claims, were one way in which some members of Roman society constructed their ‘community’¹⁴ for themselves, in opposition to other people and peoples, we must return to the question of why and *how* this happened. Hellegouarc’h pursues his argument about VIRTUS as follows: ‘Thus Virtus, along with Fides, Mens, Pax [*sic*] and Concordia, is one of the oldest abstract ideas to have been the object of a cult in Rome’.¹⁵ He suggests, in other words, that the importance of the quality ‘*virtus*’ in the self-conception of ‘the Roman people’ led early on to the worship of the deity ‘Virtus’. Far from being simply a signal of social, religious, or cultural significance, however, the shrines established to VIRTUS in Rome, and their continued existence in the city, with associated rites, from the third century BC onwards, surely contributed in a number of ways to conceptions of VIRTUS—and especially of people associated with VIRTUS—formed, held, or developed by inhabitants and others. We have already seen two ways in which a shrine (of QUIES), or an altar (of PUDICITIA), could be used as the stimulus for ideas about different kinds of connection between people and qualities. Other interactions with such qualities, not only by a historian or satirist (and his readers), but by a range of different people, form the principal focus of this book.

Some of these interactions, ‘private’ and public, are well known. The return of FIDES, HONOS, PAX, and neglected VIRTUS, for example, was sung by the chorus of twenty-seven boys and twenty-seven girls during the Augustan *ludi saeculares* in 17 BC. The chorus asserted in

¹⁴ I use ‘society’ to refer to a collection of people associated by factors such as locality, circumstance, and ties that we would today term ‘economic’, and ‘community’ to describe any group of people who, for whatever reasons, think/speak of themselves as belonging together/connected.

¹⁵ Hellegouarc’h (1972), 244. PAX is not definitely attested as receiving cult before the time of Augustus, and the earliest evidence upon which claims for earlier cult have been based does not predate Sulla (with the exception of RRC 262/1, discussed in Chapter 4 n. 107).

a festival context the re-establishment by the new founder, Augustus, of values previously worshipped in the city. Propertius, on a more personal level, declared his recovery from his stormy relationship with Cynthia in terms of a resolve to turn to *MENS BONA* after Iuppiter had failed to heed so many vows (*MENS BONA, si qua dea es, tua me in sacraria dono!* ‘*MENS BONA*, if you are indeed a goddess, I devote myself to your shrine!’).¹⁶ Both these examples raise questions about the ways in which these qualities were conceived of and categorized. Horace groups together in one stanza of the *carmen saeculare* qualities worshipped in the city and others (*pudor*, rather than *PUDICITIA*; *COPIA*, which probably did not receive public cult; and *PAX*, which may not have received public cult before the *Ara PACIS* of 13 BC).¹⁷ Propertius explicitly raises the question of whether *BONA MENS* is really a goddess. Questions about man’s relationship to such qualities and role in their deification are found much earlier than this,¹⁸ and should, I think, be considered one form of engagement among many.

The contexts in which interactions occurred, like the status of those drawing on such qualities and the ways in which they did so, were many and varied. They took place in the city of Rome, in other locations in Italy, and in colonies, in peaceful circumstances and on battlefields. The qualities had temples, shrines, and statues built to them, establishing associations between quality and founder, which were then challenged in a number of ways: Cn. Flavius’ attempts as aedile in 304 to found a shrine to *CONCORDIA* met with direct opposition, for example, while the prestige of Postumius Megellus’ connection to *VICTORIA*, whose temple he dedicated in 294, may have been lessened in the historiography of his dedication through suggestions that it was funded from fines, rather than booty (see Ch. 2). The qualities were drawn on in speeches to senate and *contiones*, and in forensic speeches: Cicero could attempt to convince the people from the *rostra*, in front of the temple of *CONCORDIA*, that thanks to his own actions the Catilinarian affair would turn out differently

¹⁶ Hor. *Carm. saec.* 57–60; Prop. 3.24.19, and see also Ov. *Am.* 1.2.31.

¹⁷ A point made by Feeney (1998), 89. For *COPIA* see *CIL* XII 1023, Plaut. *Pseud.* 736, with Axtell (1987/1907), 43. For *PAX*, which might have been given cult under Caesar, see n. 15 above and Ch. 4 below.

¹⁸ See n. 4 above (Cicero and Publilius Syrus).

from cases of civil strife which had not ended ‘in the reconciliation of CONCORDIA’ (*reconciliatione CONCORDIAE*). Defending Milo, he claimed that Milo considered exile to be where there was no place for VIRTUS (Ch. 6). The qualities were graffitied on walls in Pompeii: ‘HIC HABITAT FELICITAS’ (‘here lives FELICITAS’) was scratched above and below an apotropaic relief phallus in a bakery (Ch. 7 and App. 5). They were inscribed and depicted visually on coins: in the 120s Gaius Cassius commemorated the secret ballot introduced into popular trials by (his father’s?) *lex Cassia tabellaria* by representing LIBERTAS on *denarii*. Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius minted *denarii* with the head of PIETAS on the obverse in 81, commemorating his own part in securing his father’s restoration from exile (Ch. 4). They appeared in dramas performed in the city of Rome (VIRTUS may have had a role in Naevius’ *Clastidium*), and were evoked by characters of many different statuses in comedies—from slaves claiming to be SALUS and FORTUNA and demanding altar and sacrifice, to Carthaginians illustrating their PIETAS, to a young man claiming that PIETAS compelled him to watch his father disporting himself with his own girl (Ch. 3). Divine qualities were chanted by theatre audiences who found resonance with contemporary situations in particular lines of a play: Cicero was keen to report a reaction in his own favour in the repetition by (parts of) an audience of the line *Tullius, qui LIBERTATEM stabiliverat* (‘Tullius, who had established LIBERTAS for the citizens’) in a late Republican reperformance of Accius’ *Brutus* (Ch. 6). Dedications were made to them in Rome and other locations: a small, surviving inscription on bronze from Pietrabbondante, for example, dating from the time of the Social War, is a dedication to VICTORIA. It suggests that VICTORIA, perhaps appropriated from Rome and certainly inscribed against Rome, played a role in the self-presentation of those fighting against Romans in those years. In the colony of Minturnae *magistri* of SPES, who made dedications to SPES, were slaves. Prodigies were reported affecting temples, statues, and other representations of divine qualities: an owl was caught in the temple of FORTUNA EQUESTRIS in 92, for example, and a boy dressed as VICTORIA fell from his litter during a procession in 42 (Ch. 5). Other portents (probably embellished in the telling), like Caesar losing a chariot axle beside the temple of FELICITAS, were used in written narratives to shape accounts of the lives of important

men. Prominent figures in the late Republic made claims about themselves, which they were then obliged to try to 'live up to', by living in *horti* close to temples of FORTUNA and other qualities. Divine qualities were used as passwords to join together groups of men: the Pompeians fighting at Munda when Pompey was dead united themselves as a collective with the password PIETAS. Whole foundations could be named after them: Caesarian colonists found themselves belonging to settlements with names like CONCORDIA IULIA, FELICITAS IULIA, and VIRTUS IULIA (Ch. 6).

The qualities examined here are principally those known to have received public cult and temples in Rome in the Republican period, before Cicero's death in 43 BC: BONUS EVENTUS, CLEMENTIA, CONCORDIA, FELICITAS, FIDES, (FORS) FORTUNA, HONOS, IUVENTAS, LIBERTAS, MENS, MONETA, OPS, PIETAS, PUDICITIA, QUIES, SALUS, SPES, VICTORIA, and VIRTUS.¹⁹ Different qualities from this cluster were important to different groups, at different times, and in varying ways. Some changes over time are particularly significant, such as the attempts by those controlling vast resources in the late Republic and in the imperial period to limit the meanings or associations of certain qualities. It is nonetheless important to realize that these qualities continued to be engaged with in meaningful ways by a range of people of different status, even in the period in which one might expect them, like so much else, to have become the preserve of the imperial house. They are found in Pompeian graffiti, as we have already seen, and often referring to local matters. Even when they were associated with the emperor, they formed part of ongoing dialogues between people and emperor, for instance when used in acclamations, rather than being simple vehicles for praise. They also continued to be important for those outside the imperial house, as can for example be seen from the tomb of Claudia Semne from the second century AD, in which Claudia was represented in statues as FORTUNA, SPES, and Venus (Ch. 7).

The reprinting in 1987 of Axtell's monograph, then already eighty years old, on *The Deification of Abstract Ideas in Roman Literature and*

¹⁹ No record or story survives of the vowing or foundation of temples to BONUS EVENTUS, MONETA, or QUIES, and discussion will focus mostly upon those deities about which such information is still extant. PUDICITIA was not a recipient of public cult. Axtell (1987/1907) provides a full list of qualities, categorized as 'receiving state cult', 'popularly but not officially worshipped', and 'doubtful examples'.

Inscriptions suggests continuing interest in these qualities whose divine status—other than through metaphor—is alien to so many of us today. Monographs have now been devoted to a number of individual deities.²⁰ Important work has been done upon personifications, including ‘political’ personifications, in Greek art, notably by Shapiro and Smith. Stafford raises important methodological questions about ‘personification and the divine’ in Greece in the introduction of *Worshipping Virtues* (2000) and succeeds in presenting selected deities chosen as case studies as serious recipients of cult, worthy of investigation. She shies away, however, from suggesting general answers to many of her conceptual questions by taking this cult by cult approach in the rest of her book, and also loses opportunities to explore nuance when deciding to adopt one-word translations for each ‘personification’. Axtell’s is one of only two works, each covering Republic and empire, to focus exclusively on divine qualities in Rome. It remains a valuable study, in part for its collection of literary and epigraphic evidence, but Axtell’s concluding description of the qualities or ideas he was investigating reflects a common and rather dismissive attitude: ‘Elevated to the rank of divinity and provided with temples, flamens, priests, altars, and all the wherewithal of a real cult, they are nevertheless practically mere qualities or states restricted to this, that, and the other, a non-descript and shadowy crowd’.²¹ In his very useful long review article—the other work exclusively focusing on ‘Roman’ divine qualities—Rufus Fears provides a valuable corrective to such views, as does Stafford for those in communities in Greece, by considering such qualities as the focus of relationships with something conceived as divine. He also provides excellent contextualization of what he terms the ‘transmission of the basic language of Greek politics and its absorption into the social and political structure of the Roman state’. His survey is somewhat weakened, however, by his assumption that the ‘Roman People’ and their

²⁰ Hölscher (1967), Mello (1968), Freyburger (1986), Champeaux (1982*b* and 1987), Buxton (1982), McDonnell (1990), Winkler (1995), Thériault (1996*b*), D’Arco (1998). General discussions or discussions of a number of individual deities may be found in Deubner (1897–1909); Wissowa (1912), 327–38; De Sanctis (1953), esp. 285–308; Latte (1960), esp. 321–4 on the imperial period; Dumézil (1970), ii, ch. 1; Lind (1973), and (briefly) Beard, North, and Price (1998), i 62 and ii 2.3. Shapiro (1993), like the work of Amy C. Smith (1997, 1999) focuses primarily upon physical representations in art.

²¹ Axtell (1987/1907), 97, going on to compare their purpose and function to those of *genii*.

‘communal mentality’ are self-evident, bounded categories.²² The best insights into the conceptual challenges posed by divine qualities are provided by Feeney, who rightly considers what he calls ‘personifications’ to be ‘part of a flexible and intelligent system, ... one of the specialised ways of conceptualising and harnessing the power of divinity ... available to state, group, individual, and artist’.²³ This approach needs to be developed to encompass the wide variety of forms of interaction with divine qualities: literary, non-literary, and those not in themselves literary but preserved for us through literary evidence. We also need to probe further the range of individuals and groups involved.²⁴ One of the main aims of this book is to suggest that a wider range of people than is usually acknowledged engaged with divine qualities, or had the opportunity to engage or to watch or hear others engage with them, because the qualities formed a particular kind of cognitive vocabulary, which could be expressed through a number of resources. Both these terms require some elucidation.

RESOURCES

The qualities under investigation here received public cult and were thus recognized as deities. Temples, altars, festival days, and what Axtell called the ‘wherewithal of real cult’ are indeed common to all deities of public religion in Rome. They anchor these qualities as firmly as all other deities into the rhythms and topography of the city. One context, then, in which *FIDES*, *PIETAS*, *SPES*, and other such qualities belong is that of Roman religion.²⁵ The ‘religious’ was no rarefied sphere, of course, but rather a system helping people to make sense of their world, to conceptualize and articulate it—one that

²² Fears (1981), e.g. 833, 853, and 857.

²³ Feeney (1998), 92 and generally ch. 3, esp. 87–92.

²⁴ Bendlin (2000) takes important steps towards reimporting meaningful engagements into our understanding of Republican religion, which I have found very stimulating. My conclusions also seem to complement those of Morgan (2007) on popular morality in the early empire; she is ultimately interested in similar questions, but approaches them through a very different range of material.

²⁵ This point is recognized by Fears (1981) and Thériault (1996*a*), but not by Champeaux (1982*b*), p. xxi.

cannot be abstracted from those areas that we tend to separate analytically into the social, political, and cultural.

Beard has considered the Roman ritual calendar and exegetical texts of its festivals (Ovid's *Fasti*, Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Roman Antiquities*, and antiquarian and biographical works by Plutarch) as an important way of representing Roman history and Rome itself; as a paradigmatic staging of new and changing images of what Rome was. Not constrained by a linear narrative such as that found in the Protestant calendar for example, Roman festivals could take on new associations, developed through exegeses both written (intellectualizing) and oral. Through these changing associations, and by combining stories and aetiologies from mythical and historical time, '[i]n a sense, the ritual calendar as a whole can be seen as a conceptual pageant of Rome and of what it was to be Roman'.²⁶ Rituals and exegeses involving divine qualities should be seen, like those of all deities, as part of this wider context. Surviving calendars with exegeses, like the texts used by Beard, are of course of later date than the years investigated here, and even Ovid's *Fasti*, another Augustan text, covers only the first six months of the calendar year. Some of the obvious avenues for exploring festivals and interpretations of festivals of these qualities in the Republican period are therefore either difficult or simply lacking, since most of the festivals of these qualities fall in the latter half of the year. Some exegeses do remain and can be explored, although the later contexts must be taken into account. Plutarch's discussion of the bare-headed sacrifice to HONOS, for instance, is illuminating in terms of the association it makes between that sacrifice and expected behaviour in the presence of honourable men. Varro's earlier attempt etymologically to associate HONOS and *onus* is of interest from a similar perspective.²⁷ This approach can also fruitfully incorporate stories of temple foundations in the historiographical tradition. The traditions relating to the temples and shrines of CONCORDIA in the Forum, for example, summarize crucial moments in relations between élites and non-élites.

²⁶ Beard (1987), 7; Beard (1991), 55 and n. 55 makes the important point that it was only with public, written representations of the Roman year that the year could be seen as a whole and so existed in totality, rather than simply being lived through by individuals.

²⁷ Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 13 (see Ch. 5 n. 16); Varro *Ling.* 5.73 (see Ch. 5 n. 61).

Such an approach to history and ritual can (and should) be applied to any number of Roman deities. An older approach, such as that of Shils and Young in their discussion of the British Coronation, held that in rituals, 'society reaffirms the moral values which constitute it as a society and renews its devotion to these values by an act of communion'.²⁸ This Durkheimian view, rightly criticized by Price as selective, naïve, and conservative,²⁹ in fact helps to draw attention to the particular nature of the deities in question here. It underlines the importance of a sensitive study of *how* social processes involving these divinities operated, when the divinities themselves actually 'embodied' values that members of Roman society, in Shils and Young's formulation, affirmed simply by sharing public rituals. Moving, then, beyond the already discredited position that sees ritual as *purely* integrative and as reinforcing existing social structures, what is needed is an examination of the acts of engagement with such values, which in Rome had physical representations. These qualities were not given elements in a reified 'Rome'. Rather, such engagements were one way in which 'Rome' could be imagined, or rather continually re-imagined, by 'Romans' and by others.

Rituals associated with deities are now, like the Coronation, understood to be *loci* of 'contested meaning and conflict'.³⁰ Different interpretations of the same ritual, that is, are always available, not only over time, but also concurrently for different participants or observers (and indeed within any given individual). This insight, too, is relevant to all deities. What is particular to the deities to be investigated here is their simultaneous participation in the spheres of Roman religion and of more general discourse: their embodiment of 'common' nouns in divine beings. They belong in the wider discursive field to an extent that other deities do not.

For the second context in which these deities are to be located is the broader range of qualities associated with people(s), including 'Romans'. This is another area in which there are interesting paths to be pursued relating to broad questions about how people thought

²⁸ E. Shils and M. Young, 'The Meaning of the Coronation', *The Sociological Review*, n.s. I 2 (1952), 63–81, at 67, quoted and critically analysed by Price (1984), 122 and n. 127.

²⁹ Price (1984), 122.

³⁰ Bispham, in intro. to Bispham and Smith (2000), 6.

about themselves and their world.³¹ The qualities that received cult are situated in the overlap between the two contexts or spheres delineated above, religious and discursive. They form a cognitive vocabulary: they are (and they are also more than) nouns, names, words, a lexicon—elements of language whose referents and meanings, like those of any vocabulary, are not simply imposed as part of an élite hegemony and accepted by the ‘spontaneous consent’ of subordinate groups, but operate by being aired, used, and contested by and in the presence of such groups.³² These deities occupied, in some sense, not only conceptual but also physical spaces in which such processes of airing, appropriating, and contesting could take place. They did so because they were represented—in the city of Rome, in Roman colonies, and in the mental maps of (some) inhabitants of Rome and the Roman empire—through a wide variety of physical and temporal resources, such as temples, shrines, altars, statues, numismatic representations, images in processions, appearances of gods in plays, festival days, rites, passwords, and colony names. The presence of these physical spaces and forms of representation, not only during rituals dedicated to the god in question but also at other times, may have made these qualities more accessible than those found only in the conceptual sphere. Important concepts like *dignitas*, *gravitas*, or *industria*, for example, are associated with (particular) Romans in speeches and tracts, but they do not belong to quite the cognitive vocabulary examined here. The range of forms in which qualities that received cult—or deities that embodied qualities—were expressed was potentially visible to a far greater number of people, in and outside the city of Rome, than the (male) élite whose writings make up so much of our evidence.

These forms of expression are what I have termed ‘resources.’³³ Receiving temples, altars, festival days, and cult statues in Rome,

³¹ Some such paths have been pursued by Hellegouarc’h (1972) and Moore (1989). Barton (2001) is a less successful attempt, but contains interesting material.

³² Roseberry (1994), esp. 360–6: I have found the approach of James C. Scott stimulating. Cohen (1985), 14–16 has a helpful discussion of symbols providing the capacity to *make* meaning, rather than themselves expressing meaning, in which respect, as Cohen notes, such symbols might be compared to vocabulary.

³³ Explored in Latour (1986), who discusses practical resources including flags, names, scarifications, and tattoos. Although these are connected to ‘group-definition’ in a manner arguably more direct than those I consider here, the approach remains a valuable methodological tool.

and being represented in processions of the gods, on coins, and in drama, the qualities became anchored both in the physical landscape of the city and in the temporal rhythm of the civic year. As spaces, monuments, and occasions that were brought into existence or made possible by the cult paid to each quality, such resources could trigger claims about the position of different people in relation to the quality and, through that quality, to each other. If any of these qualities are ‘peculiarly Roman’ it is not, as I have said, through any *simple* relationship between, for example, a temple to VIRTUS and the importance of VIRTUS in Rome. It was in the maintenance, renewal, and recreation of that importance *through* such claims that the qualities ‘became’ Roman, rather than their having been unalterably Roman in the first place. The very practice of using monuments, together with historical *exempla*, to make assertions and to cue arguments—in speeches and on coins, for example—appears, moreover, to have been particularly strong in Rome.³⁴ Establishing cult, which opened up a wide range of resources, almost inevitably, then, brought the qualities investigated here into important forms of public discourse. Among these forms were theatrical performances and public speeches, including *contiones*, watched and listened to by a range of different people. By considering the different ways in which the qualities were engaged with, and the links between attested engagements with these qualities and other interactions now lost to us, we can build up a partial picture of the role this cognitive vocabulary played in the processes by which individuals and groups forged conceptions of community. Such engagements include the foundation and refoundation of the cults to these deities; the stories told and perhaps performed about them; their appearance in performances given and reacted to in theatres; the reporting and consideration of prodigies relating to their temples and statues; the vows made to them; and their articulation in and outside Rome, in a speech in the Forum or on the battlefield in civil war.

³⁴ Vasaly (1993) is a stimulating study of Cicero’s use of visual images, real and remembered, in his speeches; Morstein-Marx (2004), ch. 3, discussed below, explores related issues in the late Republic. Dench (2005), 4 neatly describes Roman identity as ‘rooted in the topography of Rome and . . . her neighbours, her inherited institutions, and her political past’.

Whenever they were written down and perhaps especially whenever they were spoken, divine qualities had a particular 'tone'. I use the term 'tone' to fit the loose analogy with language I am employing by talking of divine qualities as a cognitive vocabulary. They gained this tone, this exegetical resonance, or charge, because they were part of Roman religion, that system for understanding the world that was part of every area of Roman society. Many of the claims made using divine qualities that still survive in extant (and necessarily written) material were originally oral: vows made by generals in battle, and (probably) by others who had their dedication inscribed; those in dramatic performances of various kinds; speeches made in the senate and in *contiones*; the passwords shared by armies, and, in the imperial period, acclamations. Of course, when a word from this vocabulary was enunciated—or written down—there were times at which its divinity was very clearly referred to (when its name was accompanied by the word 'god' or 'goddess', for example), and occasions when the word occurred in everyday speech where we might reasonably imagine that (a meaning of) the concept was principally what was being conveyed. Nevertheless, although we might imagine a kind of spectrum of nuances ranging from the ritual to the mundane when considering different references to these qualities, it is essential to bear in mind that once the quality was a god, there was no point at either end of that spectrum at which both divinity and concept were not in play. Once *LIBERTAS* was worshipped, for example, any reference to *LIBERTAS*, however mundane, was theological, in the strict sense of the word. The social, political, and cultural meanings of *LIBERTAS* were likewise always part—though not all—of the significance of the deity.³⁵

How was this 'vocabulary' important to members of non-élite Roman society? One point of consensus in the lively debate in recent years on the nature of Republican political processes and the role of the people therein has been the importance of analysing these

³⁵ The qualities considered here seem particularly difficult to bring into line with the marked division between discourse and practice proposed by Bourdieu (1977), esp. 116–23 and 155–8 (cf. Bell (1992), 110–14, for example), although I accept his insistence on the buried practicality of ritual, and agree that Roman ritual must always have had an *element* of the buried and implicit, which must remain on the 'hither side of discourse'.

processes in the context of the topography of the city, an analysis to which Coarelli and Millar have made fundamental contributions.³⁶ In his recent work on *Mass Oratory and Political Power in the Late Roman Republic*, Morstein-Marx has made a full and fruitful exploration of the physical contexts of *contiones*, and a very strong case for a 'fairly high degree of participation by contional audiences in Roman cultural tradition': a high level of knowledge, that is, of the history and current affairs of the city, and of familiarity with the monuments (among which he quite rightly includes coins) that 'cued' such knowledge for the people and could be drawn upon by speakers.

Many opportunities to gain this 'civic knowledge' were available, from theatre to triumphs to trials,³⁷ in areas of life—in and outside the city—that we might term 'political', 'cultural', and 'religious'. Taking as a lens not one kind of practice, like oratory, but rather deities drawn on in the *contio* and also in a much broader range of practices, further illuminates popular involvement in social processes, and allows us to explore something of what the fusion of 'religion', 'politics', and 'culture' in Roman society meant in reality. For the 'common people' undoubtedly had important roles to play in these social operations. Morstein-Marx is right that the system in which informed contional audiences played their part was less than responsive to popular needs, that '[c]ontional rhetoric sustained and revived the wide consensus on fundamental Republican political ideals even while members of the élite competed against one another's claims truly to embody those ideals'. Although he also argues persuasively that '[i]f the shouts in the *contio* and subsequent votes in the *comitia* gave the People their "Voice," members of the élite, as orators, gave them their words',³⁸ the contexts and ways in

³⁶ Esp. Coarelli (1983*a*, 1983*b*, 1985, 1988, 1997); Millar (1984, 1986, 1989, 1998).

³⁷ Morstein-Marx (2004), 70–1 suggests participation in rituals like elections, the census, triumphs, sacrifices, processions, or other spectacles, observation of political trials, or areas highlighted in Horsfall's work on the 'culture' of the Roman plebs (*La cultura della Plebs*, Barcelona: PPU, 1996 (= Horsfall (2003))), such as the theatre, wandering poets and entertainers, military service (for some men), *contiones* themselves, and public monuments. Important works on the nature of Republican politics, which has generated a vast bibliography, are also conveniently catalogued in Morstein-Marx (2004). His ch. 3 addresses 'civic knowledge'; I return to the numismatic question in Ch. 4 below.

³⁸ Morstein-Marx (2004), 280 and 281.

which people engaged with some of these ‘words’ (some of which themselves embodied those ideals) require further probing. Not only did competition for association with such values *require* the participation of the people as reactive and knowledgeable audiences, but attempts to claim association with such values through physical resources also laid open those commissioning or claiming them to having that association read differently by others, who might think of themselves as having their own relationship with the quality. Divine qualities were drawn on in the theatre to raise and to probe important questions about society. There too some ordinary people were present as part of the audience for whom these questions were aired, as we shall see in Chapter 3, when an affluent old gentleman and a slave clash in their readings of *FIDES*.

These deities-that-are-also-(more than)-qualities thus offer opportunities to hold up a lens to some ways in which individuals and groups were able to think about themselves and others. They offer such opportunities precisely because they are both divine and discursive; it is therefore misleading to try to separate references to the deity from references to the quality. The anachronism of the problem is neatly summarized by Feeney, who notes that ‘[f]rom a modern point of view, the problem of abstracts seems to be compounded by the Romans’ lack of a distinction between majuscule and minuscule letters. Thinking about the difference between *Pax* and *pax* is not easy, but it would appear to be a good deal easier than thinking about the difference between *PAX* and *PAX*.’ He adds, incisively, ‘[t]he clarity enforced by modern printing conventions, however, may obscure the advantages accruing to a mentality that did not rigidly impose demarcations between words, qualities, and instantiations, and that could fruitfully mobilise this indeterminacy’.³⁹ The default solution—to note the problem, remark on its difficulties, and then

³⁹ Feeney (1998), 88. The artificiality of separation is also recognized, e.g. by Fears (1981), 845 n. 69; Thériault (1996a); Pirenne-Delforge (1991), 396–7; and Stafford (2000), 230–1. Stafford indeed notes: ‘It seems more than likely that our superficial familiarity with personification as a mode of literary and artistic representation leads us to draw a much sharper distinction between the categories of abstract, personification and goddess than would have been felt by most ancient Greeks’, and wonders whether, ‘[i]f we are aware, for instance, of the significance of the sanctuary at Rhamnous, do occurrences of the abstract *nemesis* in Attic literature take on more significance? Or if we know that Eirēnē would soon be in receipt of a large-scale state

continue to employ initial lower- and upper-case characters—is actively unhelpful. The need for a decision on every occasion leads to distracting attempts to ‘relabel’ particular instances in texts.⁴⁰ By consistently referring to these qualities in small capitals (PAX) I attempt to reflect the ‘indeterminacy’ integral to them. The device does not prevent active consideration of where, on the spectrum outlined above, any utterance or inscription of a ‘word’ from the vocabulary might be situated, and it helps to remind us that we are indeed dealing with a spectrum and not two separable categories.

FLUID BOUNDARIES

Although small capitals highlight the importance of collapsing the distinction between deity and quality, their use in a modern text regrettably makes an excessively clear-cut distinction, and one that I do not endorse, between those qualities that did receive (public) cult and those that did not. The qualities in question here form part of a cognitive vocabulary, but this does not mean that they were ever a uniform set. The only direct contemporary evidence for them—or some of them—being grouped together comes from the later years of the period under consideration, from passages in Cicero’s *de Legibus* and *de Natura Deorum*.⁴¹ Although Mattingly describes the former (*de Legibus* 2.28) as ‘a valuable enough indication of popular belief’, it represents Cicero’s view of the ideal state religion, tallying closely with that in place in Rome in his day, and cannot be accepted

sacrifice, does the plot of Aristophanes’ *Peace* strike us as less ridiculous?’ Such questions are, however, regrettably only really raised in the book’s conclusion.

⁴⁰ e.g. Champeaux (1981); Coleman-Norton (1936), esp. 70–1; McDonnell (1990), 169. Axtell (1987/1907), 7–9 discusses the difficulties inherent in the process.

⁴¹ Cic. *Leg.* 2.28; *Nat. D.* 2.61–2, 2.79, 3.47 (MONETA is discussed in Ch. 4), 61. See also Plin. *HN* 2.14–16 for disapproval of the classification of such deities. Gradel (2002), 3 comments on the dangers of using these Ciceronian texts. Baines (1985), 2, discussing the pros and cons of an iconological versus a philological approach in his study of Egyptian personifications, comments that ‘treatises on representation and personification, if discovered, would pose more problems than they solved, however great their value might be’.

unquestioningly as such an index. The cults known in the Republic were established, albeit with some periods of greater intensity, over a period of hundreds of years, from before the sixth until the first century BC. They varied in importance, and in the length of time for which, and the places where, they were important, when this is gauged (as far as such assessment is possible on extant evidence) in terms of the kinds of exegesis that they received, or in terms of the number of surviving dedications to them. They also had different origins.⁴²

Some seem most likely to have begun as epithets of deities like Iuppiter and Iuno: *FIDES* and *LIBERTAS* from Iuppiter, for example. Two passages from the late third or second century BC, by Ennius ('O bountiful *FIDES*, arising on wings and oath of Iuppiter!') and from a speech by the Elder Cato (in which he told his audience that their ancestors wanted *FIDES* to be on the Capitol, 'neighbour of Iuppiter Best and Greatest'), make clear that the close relationship between *FIDES* and Iuppiter was known and could be evoked in order to highlight the deity's association with oaths, and that in one case the proximity of their temples could be drawn upon to support the point. This was by no means, however, integral to all such evocations.⁴³

The qualities receiving cult not only differed from each other in these terms; they were also, in a variety of other ways, not a closed set. The highly permeable nature of any analytical boundary surrounding the cluster of qualities focused on here may be seen in two phenomena. First, we should note how a temple of Iuppiter *LIBERTAS* could be described as that of *LIBERTAS* (if, as seems likely, they are one and the same).⁴⁴ Second, we see the latent existence of qualities in other epithets, such as *Stator* for Iuppiter, a deity also included by Cicero in the passage from *de Legibus* just discussed. A brief analysis, couched in terms of the approach to be adopted in this book, of one occasion involving interactions with Iuppiter *Stator*

⁴² Mattingly (1937), 104 and 105. Lind (1973), 112–13 posits Varronian influence for elements of this passage. See Chs. 4 and esp. 2 for discussion of origins.

⁴³ Cic. *Off.* 3.104 (quoting Ennius: *O FIDES alma apta pinnis et ius iurandum Iovis!* and Cato: *vicinam Iovis Optimi Maximi*).

⁴⁴ The temple is described as that of '*LIBERTAS*' e.g. in Livy 24.16.19 and Festus 108 L, while one to Iuppiter *LIBERTAS* is attested in calendars. See also Ch. 2 n. 90. Perfgli (2004), 214 stresses that 'the possible ambivalence between the autonomy of a minor deity and the absorption by a major deity is...intrinsic to Roman religion'.

suggests that the quality inherent in *Stator* could be drawn upon just as were the qualities studied here. In a speech to the senate, Cicero uses both the temple setting and direct address to the deity in order to make claims about an individual and a community and to stimulate or heighten audience reactions. His first Catilinarian oration was delivered in November 63 in the temple of Iuppiter Stator on the lower Palatine slopes, where the senate had been summoned by Cicero himself. In the course of the speech he used the temple to allude to historical *exempla* and also attributed to his listeners, united (by him) against an enemy, various connotations of the quality latent in *Stator*. As Vasaly's analysis of the speech shows, the orator drew on *Stator*'s connotation of the 'staying' of flight, making associations with the tradition of Romulus' vow to Iuppiter Stator, which stopped the Sabine enemy when they had reached the very gate of the Palatine. This was part of Cicero's self-presentation as a second Romulus in the Catilinarian affair, and was an aid in positioning himself and his senatorial audience, through the speech delivered in the temple, in solid, rooted opposition to Catiline. Cicero also drew creatively, and for a similar purpose, upon the quality in *Stator* connoting 'stabilizing' or 'making stand' (from *stare*). It has even been proposed that this reactivated a forgotten, original meaning of the cult title.⁴⁵

The social processes through which claims were made involving such deities, then, are similar to those involving the deities focused on in this book, extending the range of qualities around and through which such processes occurred. After Germanicus' death in AD 19, to take another, imperial example, two proposals were made revolving around the concept of VENGEANCE: the erection of an altar to VLTIO and the placing of a gold statue in the temple of Mars *Ultor*. The quality in *Ultor* and the timing of that temple's dedication in the Forum of Augustus, in 2 BC, forty years after it had been vowed at Philippi, were of course carefully chosen. They allowed Parthian referents for the VENGEANCE latent in *Ultor*, to counterbalance or partially to efface the more ambiguous associations of VENGEANCE, even of one's (adoptive) father, through civil war. Placing

⁴⁵ Vasaly (1993), ch. 2, esp. 49–59 has a much fuller and more detailed discussion of Cicero's techniques on this occasion (Pariente's suggestion about the archaic meaning of the cult title in her n. 32). Livy 1.12 recounts the Romulean vow; cf. Ov. *Fast.* 6.793–4.

the standards recovered from the Parthians in 20 BC in the temple highlights this clearly, as does Ovid's description of Gaius Caesar setting out to the East in 2 BC to avenge (once again) defeats by Parthians: *Ultor adest* ('the Avenger is at hand'). Nonetheless, the ways in which the god was made part of the activities in the Forum did not revolve only around the divine quality in *Ultor*. The decision to have returning generals bring spoils to this temple, for the senate to debate wars there, and for those leaving with military commands to be escorted from it could well, on occasion, as in Gaius Caesar's case, be articulated around VENGEANCE, but they were also linked more broadly to Mars' realm as a god of war (as well as to concerns such as the desire to impress the might of the Augustan complex upon men leaving with hope of glory, or returning having gained it).⁴⁶ The god of whom *Stator* was a part was Iuppiter, as *Custos* was of Hercules. The qualities could be drawn upon in similar ways, and more familiar 'personalities' among the gods, like Iuppiter *Stator* or Hercules *Invictus*, then, should also be considered as elements in a discourse of qualities. They also had a wider range of associations, however, and a greater number of stories attached to them through the closer association with Iuppiter, or Hercules.

Deities like Venus and Iuno, too, who became associated with Aphrodite and Hera (by or during the second century BC), and so with the myths and stories attached to these goddesses, were themselves also conceptual. VENUS, originally a neuter noun, connoting 'charm', and linked to words like *venia* ('grace') and *venerari* ('to exercise persuasive charm'), became feminine by an ill-attested process, and from the third century BC was the goddess of persuasive seductions. The idea of the IUNO of individual women arose at some point during the Republican period, as the female counterpart of, and by analogy with, the GENIUS of men.⁴⁷ At what is often—and erroneously—thought of as the 'other end of the scale' are the deities referred to as gods of the '*indigitamenta*', subject of a recent study by Perfigli. Emphasizing the importance of naming, especially through

⁴⁶ Germanicus: Tac. *Ann.* 3.18 (see Ch. 7 n. 25); Gaius Caesar: Ov. *Ars am.* 1.181, with good, brief discussion by Bowersock (1984), 171. Zanker (1988), esp. 194–215 on the Forum; uses of the Forum: Suet. *Aug.* 29.

⁴⁷ Schilling (1954) on Venus, suggesting that the transformation occurred at Lavinium.

the ritual of prayer, he rightly understands gods whose name reveals their function (like Ossipagina who strengthened the bones of infants) as one of the ways in which Romans conceptualized their own information about reality and human experience.⁴⁸ Much of what he says is both relevant to and useful for thinking about the deities studied here. These ‘differ’ only in the sense that the connotations of divine qualities were broader. This made them desirable and useful for making claims about, and sense of, the world for a wider range of people in a wider variety of contexts and situations (from treaties with peoples overseas, to aristocratic competition, leisure, games, sex, and death).

Further evidence for the highly fluid nature of any putative boundaries marking off the deities studied here is what we might want to think of as personal, or momentary, ‘deifications’ of qualities: evocations of a quality not receiving cult (or at least not, to our knowledge, receiving *public* cult) as if it were divine. Some of the preserved instances, like those in Plautus, are clearly humorous—‘holy stuffing’, for example (*sancta saturitas*) is implored by the parasite in the *Captivi*, while Pistoclerus, a young man in love in the *Bacchides*, tells his tutor and so the crowd watching the play that ‘love, pleasure, Venus [VENUS, as we have just seen, “meaning” loveliness, charm, or beauty], beauty, joy, jest, play, conversation, and sweet-kissing’ (*amor, voluptas, venus, venustas, gaudium / iocus, ludus, sermo, and suavisatio*) are gods.⁴⁹ They are a witty hint, nonetheless, of the way qualities meaning something particular to an individual could be called on, rather as Bridenbaugh invoked the shrine of QUANTIFICATION (albeit with centuries of thick air between him and Plautine invocations). In the context of comic performance, the choice of qualities also tells the audience something about the character who uttered the words, further carving out his or her role in the drama. Surviving epigraphic dedications suggest that other qualities were meaningful in similar ways: ‘CIVITATI SACRUM A. AEMILIUS ARTEMA FECIT’ (‘sacred to CIVITAS, A(ulus) Aemilius Artema made this’)

⁴⁸ Perfigli (2004), esp. 215–17. Arn. *Adv. nat.* 3.30, 4.7 for Ossipagina.

⁴⁹ Plaut. *Capt.* 877 (tr. by Nixon in Loeb edn.), *Bacch.* 115–16, see further Ch. 3. Feeney (1998), 88 notes that Plautus personifies Venus by the inclusion of *venustas* immediately afterwards in the list. See Ch. 3 below for further discussion of these passages.

might be a dedication by an ex-slave on securing manumission, for example, honouring the CITIZENSHIP that gave him a place in a community linked by that concept.⁵⁰ That certain qualities received public cult did not, then, confine people's imaginations. These examples make clear the latent potential for deification in almost any quality, and so highlight the expandable nature of the 'group' considered here, which is most visible in the large number of qualities providing symbolic capital in this way in the period of the emperors.⁵¹ Nevertheless, in the Republican period at least, certain kinds of resources only existed for qualities receiving official cult—temples, cult statues, and coin images. These were present in the fabric of the city, its calendar, and in people's imaginations, existing as stimuli for the many kinds of claims studied here in a way that does not apply to such personal deifications.

Given the fluidity of the cluster of qualities focused on, then, it is clear that the term used to label them is really no more than a convenient shorthand to describe a group of divinities sharing (more than) names with qualities. Some care is needed in choosing such a label, however, because it does have the potential to influence perceptions of those deities. Terms like the 'deification of abstract ideas', for example, as Fears rightly emphasizes, are partially responsible for (mis)conceptions of the deities as more 'abstract' than other divinities.⁵² One option, adopted by Fears himself, and recently by Stafford, is the term 'Virtues', in its (as Fears allows) now archaic

⁵⁰ *CIL* VI 88, with discussion by Axtell (1987/1907), 49.

⁵¹ 'Personifications' on coins far exceeded the number of qualities known to receive cult in the imperial period, but by this point, I would suggest, such figures had taken from those that had appeared on coins in the Republican period something of the 'tone' conferred by their belonging to the religious sphere. Qualities could also, of course, be given the epithet *divina* in commemorative oratory or writing. Pompey's *gloria divina* was extolled by Cicero, for example, who also attributed *divina liberalitas* to Caesar (*Flac.* 30; *Fam.* 1.9.18); cf. *Leg. agr.* 2.90; *Mil.* 21; *Phil.* 3.3 for *divina mens*; *Marcell.* 26; *Mil.* 99; *Prov. cons.* 32; *Phil.* 3.3, 13.19, 44 and *Leg. Man.* 33 and 36 for *divina virtus*, ascribed to a range of individuals. Again, extra resonance is given by *divina* in these instances partially because of the resonance of divine qualities in the sense in which I am using the term.

⁵² Fears (1981), 831–2. Dumézil (1970), ii 397 calls them 'personified abstractions', describing their elevation to the rank of divinities as 'a game of language'; Beard, North, and Price (1998), ii 2.3 use the term 'deification of abstract ideas'. Hani (1980), 109 suggests, with some reason, that the expression 'abstraction personnifiée' ('personified abstraction') is loaded with a point of view belonging to classical humanism.

meaning of ‘the power or operative influence inherent in a supernatural being’.⁵³ This term, however, may be confusing because ‘Virtues’ is so close to the term used by Cicero to describe some of the qualities considered here (*virtutes*), which he contrasts in part in *de Legibus* with ‘things to be desired’ (*res expetendae*).⁵⁴ In terms of the approach adopted here this is not a meaningful division: SALUS and VICTORIA, like CLEMENTIA, PIETAS, and VIRTUS, are gods, qualities inextricably part of human relations and yet conceived of as god-given, and hence part of the religious sphere, giving the qualities a certain exegetical charge or ‘tone’. A term is needed that encompasses them all. Recent scholars have acknowledged the inadequacy of the terms so far essayed, but again usually follow such an observation by adopting one of these very terms, *faute de mieux*.⁵⁵ ‘Divine qualities’, the term adopted in this book, seeks to remove the pejorative connotation of ‘abstraction’ or ‘abstract’.⁵⁶ It also obviates an anachronistic need always to differentiate between deity and quality, may happily be used of VIRTUS and SALUS alike, and goes some way towards acknowledging the blurred line between those qualities studied and the various other deities I have discussed who share important characteristics with them.

Engagements with divine qualities, then—*how* and for whom they were ‘good to think with’ (and engage with more actively)—are the subject of this book. They range from the debates provoked by the foundation of temples and cults to divine qualities about their pertinence to different groups and individuals, to interactions

⁵³ Fears (1981), 832, and generally 830–3, following Mattingly, Charlesworth, and Nock. See Stafford (2000), 19–27.

⁵⁴ Cic. *Leg.* 2.28; Wallace-Hadrill (1981*a*), 309 makes a similar point about Mattingly’s treatment of imperial coinage.

⁵⁵ e.g. McDonnell (1990), 92 n. 11 and 377 n. 1 notes the value of Fears’s objection to ‘abstract’, claims (correctly) that, “‘virtues”, however, is no better’ (although in his view this is because the Roman concepts often lacked the ethical qualities associated with this word), but then discusses ‘Abstract Cults’—‘for want of a better term’.

⁵⁶ Asher (1993), 1 states in his linguistic study that ‘abstract objects... have no spatio-temporal location, usually no causal efficacy, and are not perceived by the senses’. This definition clearly demonstrates the unsuitability of ‘abstract’ to describe divine qualities. On the ‘making of Fides and Clementia into gods’ as the very *opposite* of ‘abstraction’—hypostatization—see Fears (1981), 831, 837–8, Wallace-Hadrill (1981*a*), 314–16, and the comments of Barton (2001), 72 n. 194.

through and around their various forms of expression from the end of the fourth century BC to the end of the Republic. As Caesar and Pompey struggled for supremacy (monopolizing resources of many kinds, including those expressing divine qualities), these qualities continued to constitute *loci* and *foci* for their, and others', conception and presentation of themselves and other people(s). They continued to produce, and continue to illuminate for us, the public sphere in which Roman-ness was lived and played out. Increasingly personal identification with certain divine qualities in Caesar and Pompey's competition, to an even greater extent than during Marius' time, was made possible by their control of a great number of resources. This allowed correspondingly greater control over the ways in which those resources could be exploited and interpreted. The more effective the appropriation, however, and with it control over which connotations of the divine qualities were evoked, the more acute the need to live up to the claimed association. In the event of failures, those resources would demand alternative readings. The same is true of imperial appropriations of divine qualities, despite these being in one sense more definitive than any previous appropriative attempt.⁵⁷ The resources through which these qualities were expressed continued to provide a range of people with opportunities to reflect upon, react against, or try to influence the society in which they were living, as they had throughout the Republican period.

⁵⁷ See Wallace-Hadrill (1981a), *passim* and (1983), ch. 7.

Introducing New God(desse)s (?)

The resources through which divine qualities were expressed in the Republican period created opportunities for individuals and groups to formulate, interpret, reinterpret, and challenge claims about themselves and others. Building a shrine, temple, or altar to a divine quality established or re-established that quality in the urban topography and ritual calendar of Rome, and so of colonies. Such an act in itself constituted an important statement (or rather, important statements) about a given quality. It also created a resource that permitted other engagements with the quality to take place over time. It was these claims and engagements on different levels, rather than the innate suitability of given qualities to ‘Rome’, that together partially made such qualities ‘Roman’ in the last three centuries of the Republican period. Attempts to mark out Roman identity in epic and other forms of literature were important at particular times during those years. State-level claims worked in symbiosis with those on a ‘lower level’ by individuals and smaller groups. In a surviving letter to the Teans from 193, for example, M. Valerius Messalla as praetor, writing on behalf of the tribunes of the plebs and of the senate, asserted that ‘we always continue to value most highly piety towards the gods’ (καὶ ὅτι μὲν διόλου πλείστον λόγον ποιούμενοι διατελοῦμεν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβείας).¹ The aspect of *PIETAS* at issue here matched the nature of the appeal to which this letter was a response: the Teans had sought recognition of Teos as sacred and inviolable because of their festival to Dionysos. The reply on behalf of the Roman political community sought both to praise the Tean community for, and to outdo them in,

¹ Syll.³ 601, *RDGE* 34; tr. Bagnall and Derow (1981), no. 37.

PIETAS *erga deos*. Two years later, M' Acilius Glabrio, fighting against Antiochus III, vowed to build a temple to PIETAS in Rome. The vow, and particularly the subsequent building of the temple in the Forum Holitorium, was another, visible assertion of Roman PIETAS, and, at the same time, of the link between PIETAS and Glabrio and the Acilii Glabrones. This last was further reinforced, as we shall see later, when Glabrio's son placed a gilded bronze statue of his father in that temple, drawing out a connection with *filial* PIETAS. The letter to the Teens illustrates well how PIETAS towards the gods was presented and inscribed as important to Romans collectively (to the senate and representatives of the people) before the cult was established. Such state-level claims seem particularly influential on modern judgements that certain qualities are particularly 'Roman'—the claim in this letter, that of Aeneas' PIETAS in (and before) Virgil's epic rendering, or that of Anchises in Naevius' *Bellum Punicum*, for example, and those made by the establishment of cults.² Orlin, for example, claims of qualities I term divine that 'both the concepts deified and the very notion of deifying them were thoroughly Roman'.³ The first part of his statement assumes that the link is fully forged before cult is established, but this omits the very foundation of cult and subsequent engagements which are so important in building up and maintaining perceptions and connections. What might more accurately be described as particularly 'Roman' are precisely these kinds of claims and engagements.

The second element of Orlin's statement raises a related question, that of the origins and nature of such cults. As I have already suggested, that divine qualities can usefully be thought of as elements

² Naev. *Bellum Punicum* 12 (Morel); Dench (2005), 58 and 61–9 for a sensitive discussion of claims about Roman distinctiveness in the third and second centuries, including that of religious piety.

³ Orlin (1997), 62 n. 94, cf. p. 102, where he refers to MENS as 'a goddess created from an abstract concept, a very Roman practice'; Dumézil (1970), 473–4 talks of 'Mens, who is typically Roman, a personified abstraction representing reflection, judgment, the opposite of rash temerity'; Palmer (1990), 14 describes the goddess VICTORIA's name now seeming to us 'so thoroughly Roman'; and Holliday (2002), 197 alludes to 'that most Roman of deities, Virtus'. Deubner (1897–1909), 2070 goes so far as to describe the process of 'deification of abstracts' in Rome, especially in the imperial period (as opposed to the Greek development of abstracts from deities), as corresponding to the 'römischen Volkscharakter' ('character of the Roman people').

in a cognitive vocabulary does not make them a closed-off, theological 'group'. To assume them to be such increases the likelihood of pursuing unproductive paths, such as seeking for them a (common) geographical and/or conceptual origin. To seek to isolate 'Greek', 'Italian', or 'Roman' origins, or influence on the origins, of such cults, as Bailey did, for example, in insisting that although '[h]ere and there then Greek influence might tell, ... for the most part these abstract deities were of *genuine Roman origin*'⁴ falls into obvious traps. It both homogenizes 'Greek' identity as a monolithic concept, and divides 'Greek' and 'Roman' in a way that echoes, rather than problematizes and analyses, claims in ancient texts. It fails to acknowledge the many other groups in the context of which, and in relation to which, traditions about Roman values were built up: communities in Italy (Samnites, Tarentines), Macedonians, and Carthaginians. One example will suffice of the obvious dangers of such an approach: one of Bailey's few concessions to 'Greek influence' was that of HOMONOIA upon CONCORDIA. On current evidence, it cannot in fact be proved (as is usually assumed, and however plausible the assumption may be) that the cult of CONCORDIA, which may have been the first divine quality to have received a fourth-century temple in Rome, postdated that of HOMONOIA in a 'Greek' community like that of Syracuse. The anteriority of the cult of HOMONOIA is very likely, and I wish neither to argue for the likelihood of the derivation of the cult of HOMONOIA from that of CONCORDIA, nor to downplay the importance of developments in the Hellenistic world for a number of cults to divine qualities in the fourth and third centuries.⁵ But Rome was *part of* that 'Hellenistic world', making this example a salutary reminder of too persistent a tendency to assume a flow of influences in only one direction. Similar responses may in fact have developed in similar circumstances in a geographical area involving much interchange and exchange. Fears rightly qualifies his assessment of the evolution of what he calls the 'cult of Virtues' at

⁴ Bailey (1932), 136 (emphasis added); cf. Winkler (1995), 23.

⁵ Bailey (1932), 136. See below on the still unresolved and irresolvable question of the authenticity of a cult to CONCORDIA in Rome dating back to 367. Impossibility of establishing anteriority demonstrated by Thériault (1996a; summarized in 1996b: 179–80). Probability of anteriority: Cn. Flavius' shrine to CONCORDIA and its parallels with that of HOMONOIA in Syracuse (discussed below).

Rome as 'nothing less than the transmission of the basic language of Greek politics and its absorption into the social and political structure of the Roman state' by emphasizing that the 'process was not one of mere absorption. It rather represented an imaginative response by the Romans to the new ideological needs stemming from the external expansion of the Roman state'.⁶ His assessment, too, however, remains rooted in terms of movements only towards Rome.

Similar claims to those to be examined in the course of this book relating to deities with cults established in Rome can also be found concerning divine qualities in various communities in other parts of the Hellenistic world. Pausanias uses the/an altar of ELEOS in the Athenian agora and a claim that the Athenians alone of the Greeks honoured ELEOS, to argue that *philanthropia* was an Athenian characteristic, and so to claim piety for them because they had altars to AIDOS, PHEME, and HORME.⁷ He also challenges the 'message' of a wall painting by Euphranor of Isthmia, in the Stoa of Zeus Eleuthérios in the Athenian agora, depicting Theseus, DEMOKRATIA, and DEMOS (that Theseus gave political equality to the Athenians), claiming that Theseus was in fact a king and father of three generations of kings, and ascribing the masses' belief in the story portrayed in the wall painting to what they heard in choruses and tragedies.⁸

⁶ Fears (1981), 856, 849. Hölkeskamp (1987), 239 n. 305 comments that Fears's views 'perhaps overemphasize the Greek influence and underestimate the genuinely political character'. I agree with the first part of his assessment in the sense outlined above. As for the 'genuinely political character', it is true that Fears places his emphasis upon the 'divine' nature of 'the Virtues', almost at the expense of what Hölkeskamp would call their 'political' side, but this is to be attributed to Fears's laudable effort to establish and affirm this divine nature in the face of a prevailing tendency to label (or, indeed, dismiss) divine qualities as 'political'.

⁷ Paus. 1.17.1. Stafford (2000), ch. 7 for full discussion both of sources mentioning an altar of ELEOS and of the identity of both altar and deity, arguing that the altar about which this claim was made, if it is indeed to be located in the Athenian agora (rather than, for example, in the Roman agora in Athens) should be identified with that of the Twelve Gods (dating back to the sixth century) and that the name *ELEOU bomos* was only given to the monument because of its function as a place of supplication and sanctuary (and this perhaps no earlier than the second century BC). If she is right, Pausanias' conclusions are even more interesting: Athens was not, of course, the only city in Greece where altars or sanctuaries served as places of refuge, but the ascription of the genitive ELEOU to the altar permitted such claims of exclusivity to be made.

⁸ Paus. 1.3.3, the painting dating from c.350. Smith (2003), s.v. 'Demokratia' (2), suggests either Theseus presenting DEMOKRATIA in marriage to DEMOS, or DEMOKRATIA crowning DEMOS. Athens, *EM* 12749 is a decree of 306/5 stating that a statue of

Other extant texts refer to an individual's decision to (re)create a resource expressing a divine quality in retaliation against a group: Pliny recounts the story of Agoracritus of Paros and Alcamenes the Athenian, both pupils of Phidias, who are said to have competed in the second half of the fifth century in the sculpting of a statue of Aphrodite. Alcamenes won the contest, not through skill, but through the votes of his fellow citizens, who supported their kinsman at the expense of his Parian rival. Agoracritus therefore gave his statue to be sold, stipulating that it should never be taken to Athens, and called it NEMESIS.⁹

Association with the sanctuary of a divine quality is recorded as a means of honouring an individual in a manner connected to the divine quality: Plutarch recounts that Euchidas, who had undertaken to carry the sacred fire from Delphi to Plataea, died upon arrival, having run 1,000 furlongs in a day, and that his 'good repute' was immortalized when he was buried in the sanctuary of ARTEMIS EUKLEIA, with a tetrameter verse upon his tomb.¹⁰

In the excursus upon EUKLEIA that follows immediately upon his account of Euchidas, Plutarch recounts a story that does not provide the usual identification with Artemis, saying that EUKLEIA was a daughter of Heracles and of Myrto sister of Patroclus, who died still a virgin and received divine honours among the Boeotians and Locrians. He comments that she has an altar and statues in every agora and receives sacrifice from future brides and grooms.¹¹ Here EUKLEIA is recontextualized, and is shown to be relevant to a very

Demetrios Poliorketes was to be placed next to a statue of DEMOKRATIA in the agora. Kearns (*OCD*³ 1508: 'Theseus') describes Theseus as 'a legendary king of Athens, who came to embody many of the qualities Athenians thought important about their city'. Although the image under discussion here is of course only one tiny part of the evidence pertaining to Theseus—or even of images involving Theseus—it is an interesting indication, together with Pausanias' protest, of the means and success of the presentation of such messages in terms of 'community history'.

⁹ Plin. *HN* 36.17, recalling, of course, Phidias' own cult statue of NEMESIS, which he is said to have carved from the block of Parian marble brought to Marathon by the Persians for their anticipated victory monument. On NEMESIS see Stafford (2000), ch. 3.

¹⁰ Plut. *Arist.* 20.5–6: the verse, which ran *Εὐχίδας Πυθῶδε θρέξας ἦλθε <τῇδ'> αὐθιμυρόν* ('Euchidas ran to Pytho and returned on the very same day'), did not make a connection with his EUKLEIA explicit; cf. the statue of Cato placed in the temple of SALUS (Ch. 5 n. 65).

¹¹ Plut. *Arist.* 20.6.

different group. HOMONOIA, too, whose cult, as Thériault has successfully demonstrated, ‘was associated with every kind of conflict that could arise in a city or between cities’¹² had, according to Chariton, a temple at Miletus where future grooms received the hand of their fiancées.¹³

The authors of the accounts in which these examples engaging with resources are found, however (Pausanias, Plutarch, Pliny the Elder), for the most part lived under the Roman empire, and these examples constitute less than clear-cut ‘proof’ that such engagements were widespread in the rest of the Hellenistic world in the centuries BC. Some contemporary or early examples may, however, be found in earlier writers: Demosthenes’ speech *On the Crown*, for example, was delivered in August 330 in front of a jury of over 500 Athenian citizens, and included a decree of the peoples of the Chersonese, justifying the setting up of an altar to CHARIS (GRATITUDE) and the DEMOS of the Athenians, in thanks for the Athenian part in their rescue from Philip of Macedon and for the restoration of their fatherland, laws, freedom, and temples.¹⁴ Also in the fourth century, Isocrates engaged with the cult of PEITHO in Athens to condemn the sophists. He declared that these men recognized that PEITHO was a god and received sacrifice on the part of the city, but that they claimed those who (in Isocrates’ view) aspired to share the goddess’ power were corrupt.¹⁵ Herodotus describes a situation after Salamis in which Themistocles, besieging Andros, told the islanders, who were unwilling to pay money he had demanded, that the Athenians were accompanied by PEITHO and ANANKE. The response given in Herodotus’ narrative links the Athenians’ prosperity to their useful gods, and pleads that the Andrians’ inability to pay was greater than Athenian greatness because PENIA and AMECHANIA were the gods who refused to leave Andros.¹⁶

¹² Thériault (1996*b*), 178.

¹³ Chariton 3.2.16. Assessments of when Chariton was writing vary between the first century BC and the time of Hadrian. Thériault (1996*b*), 141 and 178, suggests the possibility that (if the cult is more than an invention by the novelist) this may have been a more widespread custom in cities with cults of HOMONOIA. For a similar bridging of civic and personal realms, see Pirenne-Delforge (1991) and Stafford (2000), ch. 4 with further bibliog.

¹⁴ Dem. *De Cor.* 92.

¹⁵ Isoc. 15.249.

¹⁶ Hdt. 8.111.

‘Conceptual’ origins are equally complex. Cults to the various deities who form the focus of this book were established at different times in the Republic, from at least the sixth until the first century BC, with particular frequency in a number of individual periods. By considering them as elements in a cognitive vocabulary, we are able to include in this loose cluster gods named by Cicero in lists of divine qualities (as at *de Legibus* 2.28), while acknowledging that they first received cult in different periods, for different reasons, and in some cases took on new meanings and new associations over time (without necessarily losing older ones). FORTUNA, OPS, and possibly SALUS, for example, received cult much earlier than the first large number of temple dedications to divine qualities, attributed to the late fourth and third centuries, and (at least in the case of FORTUNA and OPS) also have some role in myth as conventionally understood, in a way not shared by other divine qualities.¹⁷ To wish to exclude ‘Ops and Fortuna... as being goddesses in the ordinary use of the term’, as Mattingly did, and as Deubner did ‘those gods like Hebe, Themis, Hygieia etc. who achieved a fully personal currency’ (‘diejenigen Göttergestalten, die eine volle persönliche Geltung erlangt haben, wie Hebe, Themis, Hygieia u.a.’) is unhelpful not because these differences should not be fully acknowledged, but because it encourages a thought process in the description of divine qualities, which starts with ‘lacking personality’, moves onto ‘colourless’, and concludes, implicitly at least, with ‘of little interest’.¹⁸ Such an unproductive attitude is perfectly exemplified by Champeaux’s complaint, in her attempt to ‘rescue’ FORTUNA from categorization with entities of this type, that FORTUNA ‘tends to be confined once and for all... in the category of “deified abstractions” perceived by everyone as wholly inferior in terms of dignity to that of personal divinities, who are the only real divinities’.¹⁹ More sensitive is Freyburger’s attempt to set

¹⁷ ops is identified with Rhea and married to Saturn, e.g. Varro *Ling.* 5.64, 5.57.

¹⁸ Mattingly (1937), 104; Deubner (1897–1909), 2070, although clear-cut decisions on categorization obviously have to be made in a lexicon and Deubner was aware of ‘die paradoxe Formulierung’ of only including personifications with less ‘personality’. See also e.g. Dietrich (1988), 20, Deubner (1897–1909), 2078–9, and Lind (1973), 109 on the ‘colorless and characterless’ nature of ‘Roman divinized concepts’, although see 109 n. 5.

¹⁹ Champeaux (1982*b*), p. xxi (emphasis added).

apart from others the divine quality that is the focus of his monograph (FIDES):

we must distinguish Fides... from most other divinized abstractions of Roman religion. When Cicero puts the goddess on the same footing as other divinities as different as Ops and Pietas he confuses values that had probably by his time become very similar, but which were of noticeably different origin and religious charge. Ops is the divinization of a concrete fact, agricultural abundance; Pietas is a deified 'virtue'. Fides is both a concrete reality and a moral concept. Less personalized than Venus or Ceres, she nonetheless acquired much more density than Libertas and Victoria.²⁰

To suggest, however, that Cicero's treatment of divine qualities in *de Legibus* and *de Officiis* exemplifies how they were thought of by his time, and to assume that this phase, in which they were allegedly regarded (uniformly) as 'very similar', is of lesser interest than earlier ones weakens this reading, too.²¹

It is equally unhelpful to try to categorize the theological derivation of the god as 'Greek' or 'Roman'. Stafford's study of a number of divine qualities in the 'Greek world' makes it clear that neither the 'epithet theory' (according to which divine qualities begin as an epithet of a major deity and then become deities in their own right)²² nor the idea that such figures entered the realm of cult from literary appearance via visual representation is valid for all examples. When it comes to the question of the derivation of divine qualities in Rome from epithets of, or at least the sphere of influence of, a deity like Iuppiter (for example the derivation of FIDES from FIDES IOVIS), similar problems

²⁰ Freyburger (1986), 316–17. See also Levi (1984), 362, and 371 n. 23, where he notes that 'between the archaic goddess *Fides*... and the *Fides* that appears in inscriptions and coins dating from the second century BC to the second century AD one observes a complicated shift, (mainly moralistic) through which *Fides* (F. of the armies or Fides with *caduceus*) became a deified abstract idea'.

²¹ See Ch. 1 above for discussion of the value of Ciceronian evidence.

²² This is the process which Deubner (1897–1909) ascribed to most 'Greek' divine qualities: that of development from an adjective-turned-divine epithet to an abstract noun. Cf. e.g. Smith (2003), s.v. 'Peitho', who claims that PEITHO is rare among personifications in appearing as a goddess (Hes. *Theog.* 349) before the noun was used in Greek literature. Deubner attributed the opposite process to those in Rome (particularly to those of the imperial period), and is followed by Lind (1973), 109. On abstraction in Latin, see Marouzeau (1949), ch. V.

are encountered. A convincing case may be made for the derivation of some, but not all, divine qualities in this way, and neither can the chronological sequence attachment-to-(for example)-Iuppiter to detachment-as-deity-in-own-right always be assumed. Stafford concludes rightly that ‘the origins of personification cults can generally be seen to lie in the importance of the concepts embodied, to particular communities at particular times’.²³ ‘Origins’ in Rome should be considered from a similar perspective, in terms of the (individual) importance of the divine quality at the time of installation, and its relation (over time) to other deities and people in the city itself, and elsewhere.

From the point of view of this investigation, where a divine quality was *said* to have come from, and statements made about its relationship to those involved with it, are of more interest than attempting to discover a usually irrecoverable, and necessarily highly complex ‘truth’ about its origin.²⁴ Varronian etymologies, for example, are of interest in terms of associations and categorization made by the late Republican polymath. How Varro categorizes divine qualities in his *de Lingua Latina* differs from the kind of groupings made by Cicero discussed in the previous chapter: CONCORDIA, HONOS, and VIRTUS (and Bellona) are grouped with Castor and Pollux, an association implying grouping as gods of war. SPES is not found among the gods of book 5, but associations are made between SPES and *sponte* and SPES and *spicae*, the latter developed at greater length in his *de Re Rustica*. FIDES, SALUS, and FORTUNA are placed with Fons, Pales, and Vesta as gods of Sabine origin.²⁵ Varro’s particular interest in things ‘Sabine’ makes this not necessarily a precise indication of the origin of these gods, but rather an illustration of how various divine qualities, among other gods, could take on what for him was a particularly significant marker of identity. In the same way, some of the proposed etymologies, although—or rather because—inaccurate from the point of view of current linguistic understanding, are

²³ Stafford (2000), 227–9, quote at 229. On the dangers of dichotomy, Purcell (2003), esp. 15.

²⁴ e.g. in the case of MENS, about which the question of Greek derivation continues to be hotly disputed today (see below).

²⁵ Varro *Ling.* 5.73, 6.73, 5.37, *Rust.* 1.48.2, *Ling.* 5.74, See also OPS with Saturn at *Ling.* 5.64.

revelatory in terms of associations made. Some of these may reflect broader, 'popular' associations and understandings.²⁶

Given the nature of surviving evidence, many of the stories told about temple foundations also come down to us only in accounts written in the time of the emperors, especially by Livy in the Augustan age, but also later by Plutarch and Pliny. Livy's ways of portraying the history of the Republican period and how these tied in with the 'intense interest in the idea of what it was to be Roman' in the Augustan age have received probing treatment in recent years.²⁷ The extent to which divine qualities and their resources were useful in shaping, and used to shape, narratives and to enhance meaning in similar narratives in the Republic is harder to pin down. In examining accounts of temple foundations, we must bear in mind that in some cases at least, the stories and aetiologies may tell us less about how a given cult was established than about how a story was later derived from a cult, temple, or statue in a way that was useful for the formulation of the kinds of claims studied here in these periods of 'intense interest'. A good example of the latter is the Elder Pliny's remark about Roman *PIETAS* (discussed below), sparked by the application to the temple of *PIETAS* of a story told of more than one deity, including Hera. It is, however, entirely possible that some of these claims, or similar ones, were made in the Republican period. Wiseman has done much to show that the years around the turn of the fourth to third centuries BC were another time of innovation and creativity, while attempts made in the third and second centuries BC to mark out what was 'Roman' need to be seen in the context of similar attempts by a range of other peoples, not only 'Greeks'. The surviving 'fragments' in Peter's *Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae* are of course most often 'preserved' for reasons unconnected to the importance of their content in historiographical terms. The *reliquiae* from the first century BC *Histories* of Sisenna, for one, do nonetheless at least suggest that divine qualities were an important

²⁶ Evans (1939), 170–86 argues that the identification of *FIDES* as Sabine is plausible, that of *SALUS* has some justification, while that of *FORTUNA* is more dubious. Sensitive exploration of Sabine identity in Dench (1995) and (2005), esp. 316–21 on Varro. See below Ch. 5 n. 61 for one Varronian etymology.

²⁷ Dench (2005), 103; see also Walsh (1961), Luce (1977), Moore (1989), Levene (1993), Feldherr (1998), Chaplin (2000).

feature in his history of the years around the Social War.²⁸ As we shall see in later chapters, Cicero and others certainly made a number of claims involving divine qualities in speeches in years under investigation here. Not all accounts of the foundation of cults to divine qualities, moreover, seek to explain the motivation behind the installation of a particular cult in ways that relate obviously to the quality in question. We shall begin, however, with an Augustan formulation of a story that probably goes back in some shape or form to the third century BC.

FOUNDING TEMPLES, AND PERCEPTIONS

‘I am dedicating this altar’, she said, ‘to PUDICITIA PLEBEIA and I urge you, that, just as rivalry over VIRTUS grips the men in this state, so there may be such rivalry over PUDICITIA among the matrons.’

‘hanc ego aram’ inquit ‘PUDICITIAE PLEBEIAE dedico vosque hortor, ut quod certamen VIRTUTIS viros in hac civitate tenet, hac PUDICITIAE inter matronas sit...’

Livy 10.23.8

These words, ascribed by Livy to Verginia’s appeal to plebeian matrons in 296, as she dedicated an altar to plebeian PUDICITIA, encapsulate many issues of importance in this study: an individual’s motivation (or the motivation ascribed to an individual) in establishing a temple, shrine, or altar to a divine quality, the role of the spaces created by such foundations in contests of different kinds over such qualities among different groups and individuals, and the relationship of the divine quality both to the temple founder(s) and to perceptions of the *civitas* and individuals within it. Whether it has any relationship to events of 296 is less important than its exemplification of the kinds of stories that could be told of such foundations and the strong possibility that some version of the story goes back to the years around 300.

²⁸ See HRR i Sisenna e.g. frgs. 13, 14, 43, 45, 67, 108, 109, 113, 120.

In Livy's version—the only one to survive—the patrician Verginia was excluded from the worship of PUDICITIA PATRICIA after she married a plebeian consul, L. Volumnius.²⁹ During supplications in the year 296, following a large number of prodigies, 'rivalry' (*certamen*) arose 'in the shrine of PUDICITIA PATRICIA' (*in sacello PUDICITIAE PATRICIAE*), because Verginia claimed her right to continue to enter that shrine, as a patrician and a modest woman, only ever married to one man. Incensed by her exclusion, she divided off part of her house on the *vicus Longus*³⁰ and erected there the altar to PUDICITIA PLEBEIA where, and about which, Livy has her exhort the plebeian *matronae*.

The dispute, said to have centred around the right to participate in the rites to PUDICITIA PATRICIA, is placed by Livy in the context of a two-day supplication involving large numbers of men and women.³¹ Following Levene's analysis of Livy's flexible approach to the length of exposition, and to the placement of prodigies and prodigy lists in accordance with the needs of his wider narrative, it is reasonable to assume that the placing of the quarrel during this supplicatory process was a deliberate choice on his part, whatever its historical basis.³² The story is thus introduced in a situation in which a large number of people in the city were carrying out rites and prayers in order to preserve the *pax deorum* and in which the correct fulfilment of cult requirements would have been of heightened importance.

Livy describes Verginia claiming that she fulfils the two requirements necessary for participation in the cult of PUDICITIA PATRICIA, because she had entered the shrine 'both as a patrician and as a chaste woman' (*et patricia[m] et pudica[m]*). He does not explicitly mention any slur made about her PUDICITIA during the struggle (*contentio*), explaining her exclusion from the cult by the matrons entirely in terms of her marriage outside the patriciate (*quod e patris enupisset*³³). He does portray her, however, when setting up her 'rival' altar and cult, explicitly addressing the question of the PUDICITIA of plebeians, urging that worshippers at the new shrine be even purer

²⁹ Livy 10.23.1–10.

³⁰ Curti (2000), 86–8 has an excellent analysis of this passage.

³¹ Livy 10.23.2.

³² Levene (1993), *passim*.

³³ Livy 10.23.4.

(*castior*) than those at the old.³⁴ The story is set in years of significant challenge to patricians by the new plebeian élite, and Levene has rightly emphasized the particular positioning of this story in Livy's account as part of the run-up to the battle of Sentinum in the much longer narrative of the 'Struggle of the Orders'.³⁵

Since Livy is not only our earliest surviving source for the cults of PUDICITIA but also the only one to include this aetiology, it is impossible to isolate with certainty his source(s) for this story, the elements in his narration that he may himself have added to the version found in his source(s), or the story's historical basis. Livy will not have invented the episode entirely, but he is likely to have reworked, or even created, Verginia's speech, and perhaps elaborated other elements of the tale in accordance with its important position in the carefully constructed build-up of his narrative.³⁶

The story of PUDICITIA PLEBEIA is unlikely to have been a very late invention.³⁷ Names of important players in the aetiology (Verginia and Volumnius) resemble those of characters in other episodes with strong female protagonists: the PUDICITIA of another Verginia was notoriously threatened, for example, in the famous legend of that 'maiden' and Appius Claudius the decemvir,³⁸ while a Volumnia and, in one version, a Verginius feature in the story of Coriolanus and the foundation of the cult of FORTUNA MULIEBRIS. Lucretia's story should perhaps also be included among these traditions, as another example of a threat to a (patrician) *virgo's* PUDICITIA. Their origin

³⁴ Boëls-Janssen (1993), 278 is probably right to draw from Verginia's speech the inference that women could also be excluded for sexual misconduct.

³⁵ Levene (1993), 233–5.

³⁶ An analysis of those passages of Livy where direct comparison with his source is possible shows that, although his version was sometimes longer than that upon which it may have been based, such 'lengthening' was largely created rather by elaborate linguistic presentation than through the addition of substantive new elements.

³⁷ Wissowa's attempt (1912), 333, to demonstrate that the cult of PUDICITIA PATRICIA was in fact identical with that of FORTUNA in the Forum Boarium has now been convincingly refuted. The shrine to PUDICITIA PATRICIA was located at the other end of the Forum Boarium from that of FORTUNA, by the round temple of Hercules, north of S. Maria in Cosmedin. Clearest summary of the refutation in Boëls-Janssen (1993), 51–4; also Coarelli (1999a), 168, Palmer (1974), 121. Cf. Latte (1960), 239 n. 3 and Gagé (1963), 121, who wavers.

³⁸ Appius and Verginia: Livy 3.44–9. Both the consulships of our Verginia's plebeian husband, L. Volumnius (307, 296), were, moreover, held with another Appius Claudius.

and chronology are, however, notoriously complex and impossible to unravel completely. As such, they can be only of limited help in isolating the origin of the story of Verginia, wife of Volumnius. The basic form of the story of Verginia and Appius Claudius may well date back to an earlier period, and have been passed down orally, or perhaps in dramatic form, over many generations. This does not, however, as Cornell points out, necessarily involve the *dramatis personae* having had from the first the names with which they appear in later tradition, and it may be that, as Curti has suggested, the story of Appius threatening Verginia's PUDICITIA is contemporary with, or was even created because of, that of PUDICITIA PLEBEIA, or perhaps it was at that time that the names Appius Claudius and Verginia were given to characters in a story already in circulation.³⁹ The story of the foundation of the temple to FORTUNA MULIEBRIS, after Coriolanus was successfully turned back by the women's deputation,⁴⁰ included a Volumnia (usually Coriolanus' wife, but in Plutarch his mother). Moreover, the foundation was assigned by Dionysius to Proculus Verginius, consul of 486.⁴¹ This perhaps also suggests a contamination with the Verginia and Volumnius of the story of PUDICITIA PLEBEIA, and may even explain why Plutarch (uniquely) named Coriolanus' wife Vergilia.⁴² If we accept these

³⁹ Curti (2000), 88. See Cornell (1995), 452 n. 11, with bibliog., noting the lack of names given in Diodorus Siculus' version (12.24.2–4).

⁴⁰ The cult of FORTUNA MULIEBRIS is likely to pre-date the period in which the extant tradition places its inception, and the story of Coriolanus may have been later connected with it because the temple lay upon his route (see Ogilvie (1965), 336; Cornell (2003)). The temple's location, at the fourth milestone from Rome on the *via Latina* (Val. Max. 1.8.4), would appear to place it among 'border' cults more typical of the archaic period (see Gagé (1976)). The temple has not been identified archaeologically, although Ashby (1907), 79 tentatively suggested its identification with remains found on the right of the *via Latina* at the point where it is crossed by the Aqua Claudia, which Lanciani described as 'perhaps from a tomb, perhaps from a small temple...' (*Not. Scav.* (1890), 118), a suggestion excluded by Quilici Gigli (1981), 556.

⁴¹ Dion. Hal. 8.55.

⁴² Gagé (1976), 191. Palmer (1974), 125 goes beyond the evidence in positing (or rather declaring) the borrowing of the 'two women's names' from an 'authentic surviving account of *Pudicitia Plebeia*' for the tale of Coriolanus and FORTUNA MULIEBRIS, explaining the legendary date of 486 (for Verginius' consulship). P. seems to forget that no account includes a character called Verginia (Plutarch is the closest with 'Vergilia') in the story of FORTUNA MULIEBRIS. His attempt to support his claim of an 'air of authenticity' for the Verginia and Volumnius of the aetiology of

connections, and the inherent plausibility of the names Virginia and Volumnius in the story of PUDICITIA PLEBEIA being earlier than those of Volumnia and Verginius in that of FORTUNA MULIEBRIS, we are still left with the question of when such names were assigned to the latter aetiology. If Gundel was right in his attribution of around 300⁴³ then it might seem that the development was again almost contemporary.

The age of the shrine of PUDICITIA PATRICIA is even harder to determine. The common restriction of both cults to PUDICITIA to *univirae* (women who had only had one husband; a requirement apparently applied to *plebeia* as a deliberate calque of that of *patricia*) finds parallels in the cult of Mater Matuta, which dates back to the sixth century, as well as of that of FORTUNA MULIEBRIS, which may well also do so.⁴⁴ Two explanations are possible for this. One is that the cult of PUDICITIA PATRICIA was of similarly early date, in which case the epithet—even if the cult were in practice restricted to patrician *matronae*—is likely to have been expressly articulated only after the creation of the plebeian ‘rival’.⁴⁵ To accept this explanation, however, one must believe that an archaic cult of PUDICITIA could have existed. Boëls-Janssen, examining Livy’s claim about the proven PUDICITIA of early participants in both cults, holds that any cult to PUDICITIA must have belonged to a ‘later time’—probably no earlier than the third century—when older religious taboos had been nuanced by moral justifications: ‘the very idea of deifying female modesty could only come from a moral valorisation of archaic *castitas*’.⁴⁶ Following this reasoning, she assumes that *any* such cult

PUDICITIA PLEBEIA by reference to the story’s insertion in ‘an authentic pontifical notice of prodigies and supplications’ is also weakened by the work of Levene (1993).

⁴³ Gundel, *RE* 8 A.2 (1958), 1898–9 and 9 A.1 (1961), 882–3. The danger of circularity in attempting to assign relative dates is obvious.

⁴⁴ Livy 10.23.9: *ut nulla nisi spectatae PUDICITIAE matrona et quae uni viro nupta fuisset ius sacrificandi haberet* (‘so that no one except a matron of proven PUDICITIA and who had only been married to one man should have the right of sacrificing there’); Champeaux (1982*b*), ch. 5, esp. 355–8, Boëls-Janssen (1993), 383–5.

⁴⁵ See Radke in *RE* 23.2 (1959), 1942–5, esp. 1942.

⁴⁶ Boëls-Janssen (1993), 237–41 (quote at 240–1: ‘l’idée même de diviniser la pudicité féminine ne pouvait naître que d’une valorisation morale de la *castitas* archaïque’). She makes her claim on the basis that in earlier times, when divorce was exceptional, the taboo privileging *univirae* (based on fear of impurity) would only affect remarried widows, whereas later, when divorce and remarriage were both

must have been calqued on the archaic rule of restriction to *univirae* applying to deities like Mater Matuta and FORTUNA MULIEBRIS. The two shrines would, on this argument (although Boëls-Janssen does not pronounce upon the historicity of the split into two) have been founded closer together in time.⁴⁷ Her argument is valid as far as the story of the PUDICITIA of the *matronae* is concerned,⁴⁸ but it is not a secure proof of the third-century origin of the cult of PUDICITIA (PATRICIA), for one cannot be sure that PUDICITIA was not a deity rather like FORTUNA, who began as a deity of mothers, and earth, and later became assimilated in some respects to conceptual aspects of TYCHE. If there were such an archaic cult to PUDICITIA, the cult restriction to *univirae* would have resembled that of Mater Matuta and FORTUNA MULIEBRIS, and perhaps only became explicitly associated with the PUDICITIA of its worshippers when the second shrine was built.

The relation of the aetiology of Verginia's private shrine to events occurring, or stories circulating, in the Republic cannot be more securely established. It is still important to look at the time in which Livy places (his version of) the story, and at the use which he makes of it in his cumulative presentation of 'who the Romans were'—for the very existence of this aetiology is significant, as one of the histories of Rome developing during the last centuries of the

more common, the respect given to *univirae* would necessarily increase by their greater rarity, noting that the first divorce (for reasons other than those long accepted) is dated by tradition to the third century.

⁴⁷ Palmer (1974), 122 proposes a very specific foundation date for PUDICITIA PATRICIA, of 330, but this, despite his optimism, can only be a hypothesis.

⁴⁸ The requisite 'proven PUDICITIA' (*spectata PUDICITIA*) mentioned in Livy is also likely to be, in part, a reflection of the Augustan climate of moral legislation. Although any attempt to date Livy's first decade will always be open to criticism, given the possibility of additions and alterations in a later edition, Williams (1962), esp. 33–4, reasserts the preface's links with Horace's *Carm.* 3.24, in plausible reference to Octavian's first, failed attempt at moral legislation in 28 (cf. Badian (1985)). For an argument for the inclusion of PUDICITIA among the cults revived that year by Octavian (through Livia), see Palmer (1974: 137–40) based on Suet. *Aug.* 34.1: 'he revised laws...like...that on PUDICITIA...' (*leges retractavit...ut...de PUDICITIA...*), Prop. 2.6.25–6: 'What is the use of girls having founded temples of PUDICITIA, if any bride is permitted to behave exactly as she pleases?' (*templa PUDICITIAE quid opus statuisset puellis / si cuivis nuptae quidlibet esse licet?*), and topographical association of a *basilica Libiana* with Livia's restoration of the shrine of PUDICITIA PLEBEIA, which Palmer places in the immediate vicinity.

Republic and under the first *princeps*.⁴⁹ It is illuminating in the role it ascribes to a space created for the worship of a divine quality in struggles over that quality. Levene's claim, that this story and surrounding material show that 'the plebeians share *the true Roman values*, and thus serves to place the reader on the side of those who wish to see the plebeians win patrician respect' deserves further consideration in this context.⁵⁰

Virginia exhorts the plebeian *matronae*, ... *ut quod certamen VIRTUTIS viros in hac civitate tenet, hoc PUDICITIAE inter matronas sit*. Livy thus uses *certamen* to describe both what occurred in the shrine of PUDICITIA PATRICIA, which prompted Verginia's action, and the contest urged by her upon the plebeian *matronae*. This repetition of the same word serves to emphasize how the earlier shrine had always been a potential site of contest over PUDICITIA, even before the later was built. The point is lost in the translations currently most accessible. According to the legend related, the shrine to PUDICITIA PLEBEIA was to be from the first a physical site where PUDICITIA was struggled for and over. Verginia does not dispute the patrician matrons' (possession of) PUDICITIA, but is made to counsel the plebeians not only to *equal*, but even to *outdo* them: '... so that this altar may be said, if this be possible, to be honoured more reverently and by purer women, than is that one' (... *ut haec ara quam illa, si quid potest, sanctius et a castioribus coli dicatur*).⁵¹

Verginia's exhortation draws attention to the resonance of the divine quality PUDICITIA, a resonance shared by that VIRTUS around which (or whom) she claims that the contests take place among men.⁵² For, although at the time when Verginia is supposed to be speaking VIRTUS

⁴⁹ And, of course, afterwards—although it is clear that Livy's 'version' of the history of the Republic forestalled later attempts to tackle this period.

⁵⁰ Levene (1993), 235 (emphasis added).

⁵¹ Livy 10.23.8.

⁵² Lipovsky (1981), 79 n. 1 remarks: 'This is the only explicit reference in the pentad to the "contest of merit" which stands behind so many major incidents in the struggle of the orders'. At 10.24, immediately following the episodes of Verginia and PUDICITIA PLEBEIA and the Ogulnii, Livy reports the breakdown of cooperation between P. Decius and Q. Fabius. He ascribes this not to their personal rivalry but to that between the orders (*certamen ordinum*). Among Decius' complaints against the senate are their attempts to prevent plebeian access to high offices, 'and afterwards VIRTUS itself/herself won the right to be honoured in any type of men' (*postquam ipsa VIRTUS pervicerit ne in ullo genere hominum inhonorata esset*) (10.24.2, 24.8–9).

has (to our knowledge) another sixty years to wait before receiving a cult location, by Livy's time and by that of the early historians of Rome like Fabius Pictor, *VIRTUS*, too, had a temple in Rome.

Without suggesting in any way that courage and chastity were not considered important qualities among (at least certain) social strata in Rome, it is important to realize that this story is more than an *illustration* of Levene's 'true Roman values'. It contributed, certainly in the form presented by Livy and very possibly also in its earlier (dramatic?) form, to perceptions of the importance of *PUDICITIA* (and *VIRTUS*) among those 'values',⁵³ and also to the potential for a space established for the cult of a divine quality to be (presented as) a physical focus for claims made by different groups. In this instance, the groups are patricians and plebeians, and, although *PUDICITIA* alone has explicitly attested 'rival' plebeian and patrician cult locations, it was not the only divine quality whose place of worship either played a role in similar struggles or was found a useful symbol for those described in later accounts.

A(n alleged) motivation as explicit as that provided in Livy's story for Verginia's shrine to *PUDICITIA PLEBEIA* survives for none of the foundations of public temples to divine qualities in the Republican period.⁵⁴ The possibilities and restrictions involved when a location for any temple was chosen are, moreover, still not fully understood. Ziolkowski gives greater autonomy to the founder, proposing that a general's right to choose land for an *aedes* was not necessarily subject to approval by senate or people, but was inextricably linked to the right to make the *votum*. Orlin argues for a higher degree of cooperation among the members of the group from which came founders and founders-to-be.⁵⁵ What may (cautiously) be inferred about the

⁵³ Cf. Sallust describing (his idealized vision of) Rome in the period before the destruction of Carthage, asserting that at this point the only struggle between citizens was *de VIRTUTE* (*Cat.* 9.2), and, after this 'turning-point', describing the change in women by suggesting that they 'offered (their) *PUDICITIA* for sale' (*PUDICITIAM in propatulo habere*) (*ibid.* 13.3). He also accuses, or reports accusations against, Catiline himself and his followers, both as a group and individually, in terms of lack of respect for their *PUDICITIA* (*Cat.* 14.7; 25.3; 52.33).

⁵⁴ For an attempt to answer the questions 'why this deity' and 'why this location', for a different set of monuments, but one which overlaps with the temples I am considering here, see Pietilä-Castrén (1987), esp. 154–64.

⁵⁵ Ziolkowski (1992), esp. 214–19; Orlin (1997), *passim*.

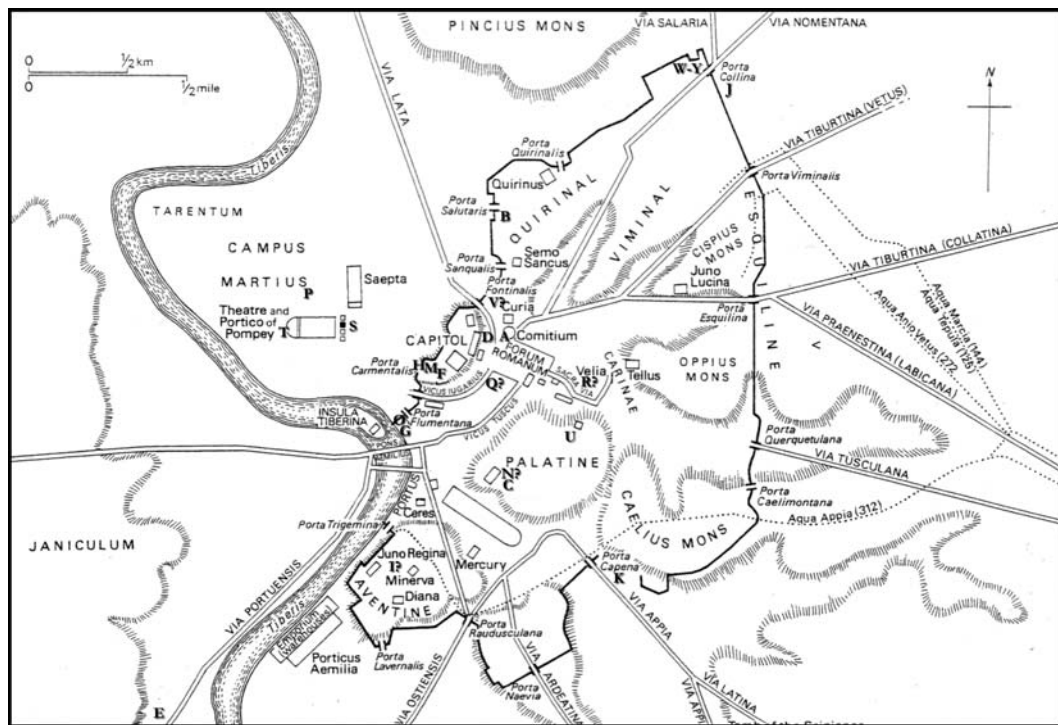
circumstances of the creation or monumentalization of cult sites to divine qualities nevertheless suggests that these introduced *loci* and *foci* for the articulation and assertion of identities on various levels. Temples of divine qualities contributed to shaping conceptions of 'civic' identity through their contribution to the shaping of civic space and through their provision of spaces for the articulation of claims and counter-claims by a range of groups and individuals within the city, in a range of media.⁵⁶ Only members of the élite commanded the material or symbolic capital to bring practical resources like temples and statues into existence. The exact importance of *material* capital depends upon one's interpretation of the funding source—individual or state—of temple foundations, but in either case the founders are still usually restricted to an élite. The nature of the surviving evidence also makes contact with resources after the foundation better attested for more prominent individuals. Divine qualities should nevertheless be viewed in the broader terms of the productive contexts brought into existence by the creation of those resources which then became visible and available, in different ways, to a wider range of people. Individuals no longer known may thus also have been able to make claims, no longer preserved, in and through these contexts.⁵⁷

Between the end of the fourth and the early second century surviving literary accounts claim that space was set aside and monumentalized in Rome for SALUS, CONCORDIA, VICTORIA, FIDES, SPES, LIBERTAS, HONOS (and VIRTUS), FORTUNA, MENS, OPS, and PIETAS.⁵⁸ Foundations to divine qualities cluster into three chronological periods, broadly corresponding to the time of the Samnite Wars and events of the turn of the fourth–third centuries, the First and Second Punic Wars, and, more sporadically (at least on the basis of the surviving evidence), the later second and first centuries. Topographically, the temples and shrines are located in the areas of the city where cults congregated during the middle and late Republic, with a

⁵⁶ This is not, of course, a feature limited to these temples, but is, in the sense outlined in Chapter 1, particularly accessible in temples to divine qualities, despite the relatively limited amount of evidence surviving regarding these foundations.

⁵⁷ Although little evidence for such claims survives, I shall examine one example from a theatrical representation in Chapter 3.

⁵⁸ See App. 2 for a list of temple foundations, and App. 4 for OPS.



A	CONCORDIA
B	SALUS
C	VICTORIA
D	CONCORDIA
E	FORS FORTUNA
F	FIDES
G	SPES
H	OPS OPIFERA
I	(Iuppiter) LIBERTAS
J	HONOS
K	HONOS (and VIRTUS)
L	CONCORDIA
M	MENS
N	VICTORIA VIRGO
O	PIETAS
P	FORTUNA EQUESTRIS
Q	FELICITAS
R	HONOS AND VIRTUS
S	FORTUNA HUIUSCE DIEI
T	FELICITAS, HONOS, VIRTUS, V(ICTORIA?)
U	LIBERTAS
V	FELICITAS
W-Y	TRES FORTUNAE

Fig. 1. Location of temples of divine qualities in Republican Rome (adapted from J. A. Crook, A. Lintott, and E. Rawson (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 9 (1994), Cambridge University Press).

concentration upon the Capitoline and Palatine, the forum areas, the Quirinal, and (in the later period) the Campus Martius. As such they reflect, both diachronically and topographically, the general pattern of temple foundations for the Republican period, with particular concentrations in those periods when Rome was perceived to be under greatest threat. If all those to various FORTUNAE are included, they formed over a quarter of the temples in Rome by the end of the Republic.⁵⁹

The 'Struggle of the Orders'

Surviving accounts suggest that the first cluster of foundations to divine qualities in Rome was built during the momentous years of the later fourth and the early third centuries, when booty from the Samnite Wars funded some of the earliest temple foundations by individuals. Most late fourth-century and third-century foundations, like that of Appius Claudius Caecus to Bellona vowed in 296, are said to have been vowed and financed *ex manubiis* by individual generals—what Ziolkowski would term 'individual' foundations. Obvious exceptions are the two shrines to CONCORDIA by Cn. Flavius (304) and L. Manlius Vulso (218), that to MENS, which was ordered by the Sibylline books, and that to Iuppiter LIBERTAS which, like Flavius' to CONCORDIA and Q. Fabius Gurgēs' to Venus (Obsequens), was an aedilician foundation.⁶⁰ This turn of the fourth to third century, which saw Romans come to dominate most of peninsular Italy and witnessed a culmination of the so-called 'Struggle of the Orders',⁶¹ is one that Wiseman has convincingly proposed as an era of 'cultic and mythological innovation, just as revolutionary, in its

⁵⁹ See Ziolkowski (1992), 235–61 for a historical, and 265–306 for a topographical, analysis. Figure 1 highlights the topographical location (known or approximate) of temples to divine qualities.

⁶⁰ Bellona: Livy 10.19.17; Venus Obsequens: Livy 10.31.9.

⁶¹ Such a 'struggle', if this is a viable label, cannot in fact be said to have 'ended' at this time. Sallust commented, *discordiarum et certaminis utrimque finis fuit secundum bellum Punicum* ('the Second Punic War was the end both of the discords and the struggle' (*Hist.* 1 fr. 11) and von Ungern-Sternberg (1986) provides instances of deliberately propagated plebeian 'identity' up until that war.

way, as the eras of Augustus and Constantine', reflecting the advances of the new plebeian élite.⁶²

The very first attested temple vowed by a plebeian was C. Iunius Bubulcus Brutus' foundation to SALUS, said to have been vowed in 311, contracted in 306, and dedicated in 302. It was situated on the Quirinal, like Verginia's house (and shrine), probably in the westernmost sector of the site of the current Quirinal Palace.⁶³ No more precise moment for, or specific motivation behind, Brutus' vow is suggested in a surviving source, beyond the details of year and campaign provided by Livy.⁶⁴ Brutus' decision to create a temple to SALUS at this point and in this location remains interesting because of his position and because of the actions attributed to him in the years between vow and dedication. The Quirinal hill was the site of much building work by the nobility in the third century, and/or the focus of stories connected with members of certain families. As well as the temple to SALUS, and the shrine to PUDICITIA PLEBEIA said to have been built in Volumnius' house, other temples were built to Iuppiter Victor (in 295 by Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus), Quirinus (vowed by L. Papirius Cursor and dedicated by his son in 293), and, much later, to three FORTUNAE.⁶⁵ C. Fabius Dorso's braving the enemy to carry out a sacrifice ordained for the Fabian gens on the Quirinal during the Gallic siege of Rome (Livy 5.46.2–3) may, as Curti has suggested, be an event 'remembered' by the Fabii during the consecration of the temple of Iuppiter Victor a century later, in 293, or an invented tradition to justify the Fabii's presence on the hill. Similarly, the episode of Verginia and PUDICITIA PLEBEIA might provide a motivation for the tale of Appius Claudius and Verginia in 449 coming into existence or being reworked at this time. Curti has made a convincing case for the hill being the new 'residential area' for 'emerging social groups, like the new plebs' (that is, the new plebeian leadership).⁶⁶

⁶² Wiseman (1995), 35. Wiseman focuses upon the myth of Remus and its links to the Ogulnii, and exciting work has been carried out upon other traditions which appear to stem from the turn of the fourth–third century, e.g. Storchi Marino (1992), especially on the *gens Marcia*.

⁶³ Coarelli (1999b), 230.

⁶⁴ Livy 9.43.25.

⁶⁵ See n. 89.

⁶⁶ Curti (2000), 85–6 and esp. 83–5 for discussion of these episodes in conjunction with stories about Sabine origins, associating these moves with a time during which,

As consul in 311, Brutus is said to have overturned Appius Claudius' revision of the senate list.⁶⁷ In 308, he fought as L. Papirius Cursor's *magister equitum* at Longula. In an episode narrated in detail by Livy, Brutus, leading the *left* wing, was said to have begun most promisingly in the internal struggle between the Roman dictator and master of the horse to see 'from which side VICTORIA should begin' (*ab utra parte VICTORIA inciperet*).⁶⁸ This revolution, which is underlined by Papirius' powerful reaction to the idea of VICTORIA going to the left, required, in Rouveret's formulation, 'abandoning an archaic conception of space—qualitatively defined and oriented—for one of a space both homogeneous and equal in all its dimensions'. Although this reference to the left side can be neither proved nor assumed to have existed in Livy's source, it is interesting to note that a play of right and left is also found in Diodorus Siculus' account of Romulus and Remus' sighting of vultures: Remus' six birds appeared on the left side (the auspicious side in Roman augury) but were beaten by Romulus' on the right (the 'lucky' side in common parlance). If, as Wiseman argues, Remus was 'introduced' around the same period as the building of the temple of SALUS, the episode involving Papirius Cursor deserves further consideration.

The temple of SALUS vowed, located, and dedicated by Brutus was said to have been decorated before dedication by a Fabius (Pictor, from the fame of these paintings).⁶⁹ Together, these stories found in later sources appear to (seek to) place Brutus among the ambitious plebeian nobility establishing its rights and space at this time. No source records the content of Fabius' paintings in the temple, but their depiction of events from a military campaign is generally

in his view, new Pythagorean theories may have been influencing the 'rewriting' of aspects of Roman tradition. See also Storch Marino (1992) and Humm (1996, 1997), esp. on the traditions involving Numa.

⁶⁷ Livy 9.30.1–2, although this could also have been a later invention (Ziolkowski (1992), 243 n. 214 and Staveley (1959), 413).

⁶⁸ Livy 9.40.8. Papirius' reaction: Livy 9.40.10–11. Rouveret (1986), 97. The possible influence of Pythagoreanism in this thinking has been posited by Lévêque and Vidal-Naquet (see Rouveret (1986), 97). Diod. Sic. 8.6, from the *Excerpta Constantiniana*, with Wiseman (1995), 8–9.

⁶⁹ Plin. *HN* 35.19, assigning the painting to 304, which fits well between the location and dedication dates. Val. Max. 8.14.6 does not provide a date. Rouveret (1986), 98 cites this decoration as a further example of Bubulcus' receptivity to the latest 'modern' and 'hellenizing' aspects of the culture of his time.

considered plausible, on the basis of the subject of the surviving fragments of the Esquiline fresco. These at least prove the existence of wall paintings from the early third century portraying episodes from the Samnite Wars. They come not from a temple but from a tomb interior, but the tomb in question was devoted to the deeds of (and hence probably belonged to) a Fabius. It is obviously hazardous to place too much emphasis for comparative purposes upon the sole piece of surviving evidence of this kind, especially when its interpretation is contested.⁷⁰ Although the fact that such paintings are known to have existed cannot ever prove that the paintings from the temple of SALUS themselves served as the model for the Esquiline tomb frescoes, the argument is plausible, particularly given that the Fabius in question is reputed to have gained his *cognomen* on the basis of the paintings in the temple of SALUS. If those paintings did portray battles against Samnites, the temple will have provided a space in which Brutus could have displayed his version of the campaigns in which he had fought to the limited audience of those who saw its interior. These paintings may indirectly have informed Livy's account of campaigns against the Samnites, including that of 308. Feldherr offers a stimulating interpretation of Livy's text as a 'monument' in itself, a monument which presents a visual image of the Roman past and thus invites comparison with other forms of public display presenting such an image, adducing examples of how Livy's narrative 'can approximate, and indeed substitute for, physical *monumenta* actually erected by victorious generals'. One of these is a scene depicted in a painting in Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus' temple of (Iuppiter) LIBERTAS. Fabius/Brutus' paintings may well fall into the same category.⁷¹ A prominent place is given to visual elements in Livy's account, notably to the Samnite shields.

SALUS may have received cult in some form in Rome from the archaic period, probably at an open shrine, and very possibly on the site of

⁷⁰ La Rocca (1985) argued that the Fannius shown is in fact a Roman soldier and owner of the tomb, which is in his opinion too small to have belonged to one of the Fabii. His argument has not won full acceptance—see e.g. Winkler (1995), 18 n. 30. Holliday (2002), 91 suggests the paintings in the temple of SALUS might have represented 'scenes of triumphal celebration'.

⁷¹ Feldherr (1998), 32–4. (Iuppiter) LIBERTAS: Livy 24.16.16–19, on which see further pp. 58–9 below.

Brutus' later temple.⁷² Although no claims survive about the precise reason for Brutus' vow to SALUS, in which a number of factors may have played a part,⁷³ if a cult location did already exist on the Quirinal, upon which a 'substantial rebuilding and reorganisation of space' was taking place in these years, then Brutus' monumentalization of a shrine already established there, with a 'ready-made' choice of location for his temple, fits well with other examples of the marking out of 'plebeian' space in this area at this time.⁷⁴

SALUS was also the recipient of a votive dedication on one of fourteen limestone *cippi* found in the eighteenth century in a grove south-west of Pisaurum. The *cippi* appear to fall into two groups, and those without specified dedicators are usually considered slightly earlier than the rest. These include one to SALUS and a dedication to FIDES. Cresci Marrone and Mennella place the dedications to SALUS and to FIDES at the end of the third century; Coarelli assigns that to SALUS to the first half of the second century, on palaeographic considerations (because of the right angle of the 'L'), but to no later than the mid-second century because of the dative in '-e'.⁷⁵ Coarelli has recently defended a dating of the *cippi*, and of the sanctuary in which they were found, to a time *before* the foundation of the colony

⁷² Deduced on the (less than incontrovertible) basis of a *porta Salutaris* in the Servian wall, which, like the *collis Salutaris* on which it stood, is thought to have gained its name from the shrine, and from the inclusion of the cult in the list of the Argei; see Varro *Ling.* 5.52, Winkler (1995), 17, and Coarelli (1999b), 230, suggesting the identity of the early cult with the SALUS SEMONIA mentioned by Macrobius (1.16.8), which would explain its proximity to the cult of Semo Sancus.

⁷³ See e.g. Winkler (1995), 24–6 and Fears (1981), 859–61 on the development of the notion of σωτήρια.

⁷⁴ Curti (2000), 83 and *passim*. Ziolkowski (1992), 265–306 assesses spatial and topographical constraints on the introduction of new (as opposed to 'foreign') deities, particularly during the development of new areas. *Contra* the tacit assumption throughout his work that the vower chose deity first, and site later, the choice of deity clearly might in some cases be prompted by that of site. Spontaneous vows made in the heat of battle are not implausible, but the availability of potential sites might frequently have been a motivating factor in the ('type' of) deity chosen.

⁷⁵ *ILLRP* 13–26. SALUS: *ILLRP* 18; *CIL* I² 373; XI 6295: SALUTE; FIDES: *ILLRP* 14; *CIL* I² 369; XI 6291: FIDE. Cresci Marrone and Mennella (1984), 109 and 94; Coarelli (2000a), 197. Cresci Marrone and Mennella also believe in evolution towards 'ei' (e.g. *ILLRP* 707 from 110), but note that *AE* 1969–70 (1972), no. 153 from Luceria provides an example of dative in '-e' from the first century BC. Chelotti (2000), 146 assigns the latter inscription '[...] *Á FIDE'* (wrongly labelled *AE* 1969–70, no.159) to the first years of the first century AD, without justification.

at Pisaurum in 184, when, he suggests, the spot was frequented by viritane colonists from Rome or from areas near the city.⁷⁶ He describes the cults attested as a 'sort of plebeian pantheon' to be linked with the specific historical situation of Rome in the first decades of the third century, shortly after (for him) the definitive conclusion of the struggle between plebeians and patricians.⁷⁷ SALUS is here again associated with divinities important to plebeians (the 'pantheon' includes dedications to Liber, Apollo, FIDES, Diana, Iuno Lucina, Mater Matuta, Iuno Regina, Feronia, the Dii Novensides, and Diva Marica). Other explanations are of course possible for these deities' presence together in the grove,⁷⁸ but these are not necessarily mutually contradictory justifications. A black *patera* from Horta, with *SALUTES pocolom* written upon it in white letters, like other, similar objects found outside Rome, is assigned by Coarelli to Rome or its immediate surrounding area in the first third of the third century. The objects, often found in tombs, may have been 'souvenir objects, bought after a visit to the sanctuary'.⁷⁹ Such objects would provide those who did not live near the sanctuary with a physical resource associated with the divine quality, which would then become part of their domestic environment.

Like Brutus' shrine to SALUS, which was built following the first known general's *votum* by a consul, Cn. Flavius' shrine to CONCORDIA (304) is another first—the first foundation attributed to an aedile. Curti sees Cn. Flavius' publication of the *ius civile* and dedication of the shrine as 'part of the same political project',⁸⁰ reflecting a new

⁷⁶ Coarelli (2000a), 195–200 following Mommsen, suggests that they could have been Flaminius' viritane colonists of 232, or colonists established after the conquest of the *ager Gallicus* after 283, perhaps contemporary with the acquisition of the *ager Picenus* or the foundation of the Latin colony of Ariminum, both in 268.

⁷⁷ Although I would question the use of the term 'definitive conclusion', the years around 300 were undoubtedly important ones in the 'struggle of the orders', see n. 61 above.

⁷⁸ Cresci Marrone and Mennella (1984), 109–11 discuss (water-)therapeutic and other connections. A dedication to SALUS, together with one to Feronia and another to QUIES, was also found on one of four *cippi* marking out an *area sacra* at Bagnacavallo, which Susini (1960), 202 identifies as a sanctuary of 'divinità salutari'.

⁷⁹ Coarelli (1973), 57, referring to this cup (*CIL* I² 450; XI 6708; *ILLRP* 254), a water pot from the area around Hydruntum with *FORTUNAI pocolo(m)* in white letters (*CIL* I² 443), and an *oinochoe* marked *CUCORDIA pocolom*.

⁸⁰ Curti (2000), 80; see also Purcell (2001a), 635–7 on Flavius.

conception of the community following the upheavals of the fourth century (in terms both of population size and of social and political struggles in Rome). He sees the deliberate adoption of a model from *Magna Graecia* in the very close topographical parallels between Flavius' shrine, situated in front of the new Comitium, and the Syracusan shrine to HOMONOIA, which was also located in front of the new *bouleuterion* after Timoleon's political reorganization. As I argued above, however, even the (logical) placement of such a shrine near the location of many public disputes/discussions cannot be a wholly decisive argument in favour of the Syracusan 'model'. Building a shrine or making a vow or sacrifice to CONCORDIA/HOMONOIA in a time of civil conflict is an easily comprehensible response to such a situation.⁸¹ Part of the difficulty with the issue of anteriority of cult sites lies in the controversy surrounding the 'first' cult of CONCORDIA in Rome. The historicity of Camillus' foundation of 367, mentioned in Ovid and Plutarch as having been vowed following the disturbances over the Licinian-Sextian laws, but not mentioned by Livy, has long been disputed. Camillus' temple is consigned by some, rightly in my view, to the legendary phase of Camillus' life, as a product of Augustan ideology. It is, however, of course possible to doubt Camillus' involvement in the foundation without assuming that no such cult was vowed at this time. Only archaeological evidence can now help to resolve the issue of whether there was a pre-Opimian temple (although it can never 'prove' its dedication by Camillus).⁸² The 'arrival' in Rome of, or second foundation to, this deity supposedly embodying harmony and concord in 304, itself became a part of those

⁸¹ See e.g. Heisserer and Hodot (1986) on the 'decree of concord' from Mytilene, in which HOMONOIA is a recipient of such attention, along with other gods including Zeus HOMONOIOS (in an interesting combination of a divine quality and a god with the same quality in its epithet, a point I owe to Nicholas Purcell). The decree is probably from the 330s at a difficult time of attempted reconciliation through the return of exiles during Alexander's wars with Persians (Arr. 2.1.4–5).

⁸² Ov. *Fast.* 1.641–4, Plut. *Cam.* 42.4. Momigliano (1942). See Thériault (1996a), 149 nn. 100 and 101 for bibliography for and against this thorny issue, with Coudry (2001) and later bibliography. Momigliano (1942) was an important proponent of the view that the temple was a product of the legendary part of Camillus' life. Gasparri's investigation revealed no trace of a pre-Opimian foundation (Gasparri (1979), 60–1), but 'structures from the fourth century BC' ('strutture di IV a.C.') were coming to light from levels below the temple in later excavations, according to Ferroni (1993), 317.

disputes whose end it ostensibly sought to celebrate and guarantee, in the conflict over the right of a magistrate *sine imperio* to perform a *dedicatio*.⁸³

The temple to VICTORIA, dedicated on 1 August 294 after the victory at Sentinum, has been identified with the podium 33 × 20 m in size between the temple of the Magna Mater and the 'House of Augustus' on the Palatine. Its identification was made on the basis of literary texts, the find-spots of two inscriptions discovered below the western corner of the Farnese gardens, the temple's proximity to that of the Magna Mater (the black stone of Pessinus was said to have been kept in the temple of VICTORIA while the temple of the Magna Mater was being completed), and extensive archaeological exploration.⁸⁴ The temple is easily read, with hindsight, as a statement of confidence in the armies of Rome. If the lapse of time between vow and dedication was long, however, or at least if the physical building of the temple was a long process (so that the vow had been made, or the temple was in the process of being built, before the decisive battle), then attitudes to the monument might not always have been positive. The building may have been subject, along with its founder's reputation, to revised interpretations. Livy remarks briefly that L. Postumius Megellus dedicated the temple in 294, having had it built from fines as curule aedile.⁸⁵ Within the city, leading members of Roman society, with whom Megellus had come into conflict, could have seen the temple, which stood high on the Palatine, as an unwelcome and permanent symbol of his achievements, rather than as a communal mark of Rome's success. Hostility to Megellus can be seen in the variant versions in early historiography which sought to manipulate the details of his career. Ziolkowski believes that this hostility also distorted the story of the

⁸³ Livy 9.46, drawing in part upon Licinius Macer. The discord provoked by, as well as provoking, foundations to CONCORDIA was not of course limited to this foundation (see Ch. 4 for Opimius).

⁸⁴ See Wiseman (1981), on Dion. Hal. 1.32–33; *ILLRP* 284 and *CILVI* 31060; Livy 29.14.13 (black stone); also Pensabene (1998). Cecamore (2002), ch. 3 argues for the temple of VICTORIA to be identified with the smaller temple usually thought to be Cato's to VICTORIA VIRGO. Her argument deserves consideration, but I do not find her overall conclusion convincing.

⁸⁵ Livy 10.33.9: 'which he had had built as curule aedile with money from fines' (*aedilis curulis ex multatitia pecunia faciendam curaverat*).

temple foundation, as far as this was possible. In his view the *votum* was made in 305, during Megellus' first consulship, and was suppressed by the Fabii/Claudii. The story of the building work remained anchored correctly in 294, but the suppression of the *votum* was enough for the beginning of the work in Megellus' aedileship (which should be later than his first consulship, because Livy claims that Cn. Flavius was the first aedile to found a temple) to lead Livy or an earlier historian to interpret the *votum* as aedilician, financed by fines.⁸⁶

Ziolkowski's view can also be modified, allowing Livy's statement that the temple was funded from fines to stand. Ziolkowski's belief that the temple was not an aedilician foundation is based in part upon the complexities in the tradition surrounding Megellus and his victories, and partly on his conviction that other known aedilician foundations (Iuppiter LIBERTAS, presented as distyle on a denarius (App. 3, no. 18, rev.) and Flavius' to CONCORDIA) were much smaller than Megellus' temple, which 'must' consequently have been voted *ex manubiis*.⁸⁷ When Megellus was aedile, however, he had, on Ziolkowski's own reading, already held the consulship and won a victory. If the temple of VICTORIA is in fact the building usually identified as such, rather than its smaller neighbour, this consulship is itself surely sufficient justification for the greater size of his projected temple, which might have been realized in part from *manubiae* from the victory in 305. Megellus appears to have had sufficient money to fund his own triumph in 294, although he had taken part in another campaign that year, so the source of this money cannot necessarily be attributed to the earlier operation.⁸⁸ It is possible that the aedileship may have been undertaken primarily in order to have the temple built. In this scenario, those playing down Megellus' achievements (after his prosecution in 291) could still have omitted to mention *manubiae* in the temple's funding, perhaps

⁸⁶ Livy 9.44.15 on 305 and 10.37.13–16 on 294, with Ziolkowski (1992), 174–6. For a more nuanced account, see Münzer, *RE* 22.1 (1953), 935–6, and Bravo and Griffin (1988), 518, who posit the influence of a historian interested in the Postumii (A. Postumius Albinus?) on the prominence of Megellus' portrayal, far from wholly negative, in Livy. Broughton, *MRR* i, 165 following Seidel, tentatively assigns Megellus' aedileship to 307, before his first consulship.

⁸⁷ Ziolkowski (1992), 174–6.

⁸⁸ Livy 10.37.6–12.

in a bid to disassociate Megellus' temple of VICTORIA from a specific manifestation of (t)his VICTORIA.

The establishment of temples or shrines to divine qualities in the late fourth and early third centuries does appear to play a prominent part in the assertion of those identities featuring most prominently in surviving accounts of this period. Leading plebeians may have established temples to divine qualities during these years as part of their attempts to create a strongly affirmed 'plebeian' identity, and physical spaces in which to assert this. It is worth speculating whether such 'new' deities were sometimes opposed to those already established, which were largely in the hands of the patricians (especially before the *lex Ogulnia* of 300, after which some of the pontiffs and augurs were always plebeians). Such a possibility should not be rejected out of hand. If the origin of the story of Verginia and PUDICITIA PLEBEIA does lie in the years around 300, then divine qualities were susceptible to reappropriation, as well as to introduction, by this group.

The Punic Wars

Temples vowed to divine qualities appear to have proliferated during the Punic Wars: FIDES, SPES, OPS, LIBERTAS, MENS, CONCORDIA, and (perhaps) HONOS, are all recorded as having received new homes in these years,⁸⁹ and none of these can definitely be assigned to the category of foundations funded by booty. The temple to Iuppiter LIBERTAS, or simply to LIBERTAS, on the Aventine (the temples of

⁸⁹ FORTUNA PUBLICA POPULI ROMANI QUIRITUM may also date to these years. All three temples to FORTUNA on the NE Quirinal, inside the *porta Collina*, appear to have been vowed in the third century. Ziolkowski (1992), 41–4 and Coarelli (1995) are right that FORTUNA PRIMIGENIA and FORTUNA PUBLICA POPULI ROMANI QUIRITUM should, *pace* Mommsen and others, be identified as two separate temples. The temple to FORTUNA PRIMIGENIA was vowed by P. Sempronius Tuditanus, consul of 204, and dedicated in 194 by Q. Marcius Ralla (Livy 29.36.4–9, and 34.53.5–6 for the dedication, misnaming Tuditanus as Sophos). The two most plausible suggestions for the founder of the temple to FORTUNA PUBLICA are those of Ziolkowski (C. Lutatius Cerco at the end of the First Punic War, perhaps in 241) and Coarelli (P. Sempronius Sophos, with whom Livy would on this reading have confused the founder of FORTUNA PRIMIGENIA, in 268–52). Little is known about FORTUNA PUBLICA CITERIOR, except that it was *in antis* (Vitr. 3.2.2), and Coarelli's suggestion (1995), that it, too, might have been founded by a Sempronius, is sheer speculation.

these names were, as we have seen, probably one and the same) is said to have been vowed in 246 by Ti. Sempronius Gracchus as plebeian aedile.⁹⁰ It can be seen as a deliberate counter-foundation to that of Capitoline Iuppiter, and so as an example of a continuing, deliberate, plebeian self-consciousness.⁹¹ This reading is heightened by the inference that it was (or was claimed to have been) financed by Gracchus' share of the fine imposed upon Claudia, the sister of P. Claudius Pulcher, for her arrogant remark about the people—or that this remark may even have occasioned the vow itself. The foundation would thus, like Claudia's alleged prosecution for *maiestas*, by the plebeian aediles, *novo more* ('unprecedentedly'; Suetonius) have re-emphasized a specific plebeian identity.⁹² Wiseman once saw the whole account of Claudia's exclamation, and the earlier episode in which her brother was said to have thrown the sacred chickens into the sea, as elements of Valerius Antias' fictitious, anti-Claudian tradition. He questioned the very existence of such a temple to LIBERTAS on the Aventine, refusing to believe that a foundation by a Sempronius Gracchus would not have been mentioned in accounts of Gaius Gracchus' last stand on the hill.⁹³ Even if the temple were entirely part of an 'invented tradition' (as the prosecution might have been), the choice of the temple and deity ascribed to the plebeian aedile remains worthy of note in terms of the kinds of stories that could have developed around them.

To the plebeian A. Atilius Calatinus, twice consul (258 and 254), censor (247), *triumphator*, and the first dictator to take troops out of Italy (to Sicily in 249), are assigned vows during the First Punic War to two divine qualities—FIDES and SPES. The temples were founded in different parts of the city: FIDES in the south-west corner of the *area Capitolina* and SPES in the Forum Holitorium, at points where each would, however, have been visible from the other.⁹⁴ Ziolkowski's

⁹⁰ e.g. in Livy 24.16.19 and Festus 108L. See Ziolkowski (1992), 85–6; Fears (1981), 870 n. 180.

⁹¹ Von Ungern-Sternberg (1986), 371–2; Gros (1990), 137.

⁹² Fine of 25,000 *aes grave*: Gell. NA 10.6 (version from Ateius Capito). Claudia's remark: Livy *Epit.* 19; Val. Max. 8.1 *damn.* 4; Gell. NA 10.6; Suet. *Tib.* 2.3.

⁹³ Wiseman (1979), 92 and n. 115.

⁹⁴ Pouthier's attempt (1981), 145–51 to make Atilius the founder of the temple of ops on the Capitoline in these years is unconvincing; see App. 4.

view that one or both were financed by the city, rather than by Calatinus *ex manubiis*, is attractive, but his interpretation depends upon the vow or vows having been made in 249 during Calatinus' dictatorship, for which there is no positive evidence.⁹⁵

The temple to SPES was built in the Forum Holitorium, alongside Duilius' foundation to Ianus (260). Identified as the southernmost of the three temples now partially preserved in S. Nicola, it lay near both the port and the early part of the triumphal route.⁹⁶ SPES also had a temple in Ostia, which is most likely to be one of the 'quattro tempietti' north of the Decumanus and west of the Augustan theatre.⁹⁷ The visible phases of the 'tempietti' should now (after the redating of the city walls to around 63) be assigned to the mid-first century BC and the early Augustan period. It seems likely that at least one earlier phase existed, dating to the second century BC or the very end of the third. The early twentieth-century excavations of Ostia and their publication are problematic in numerous ways, but results of stratigraphic explorations carried out then identified an earlier phase, with structures that may have been temples with mud-brick walls, timber entablatures and roofs, and terracotta revetments and decoration. Although this interpretation has since been disputed, and the

⁹⁵ Ziolkowski (1992), 250–1.

⁹⁶ Crozzoli Aite (1981). Excavations in 1961–2 brought to light structures of Grotta Oscura and Monteverde tufa blocks, identified as an early phase of the southern and central (Iuno Sospita, 194) temples—possibly, in the case of SPES, the phase of restoration from 213 after fire (Livy 25.7.6)—which confirmed that they originally fronted east, as they did in later phases, but that in the Augustan phase the temples were moved slightly south-east in order to accommodate the theatre of Marcellus (SPES was rededicated by Germanicus in AD 17: Tac. *Ann.* 2.49).

⁹⁷ According to CIL XIV 375 (now lost), the shrines were erected by one P. Lucilius Gamala to Venus, Ceres, FORTUNA, and SPES: the section most pertinent here reads 'he restored the temple of Volcanus from his own funds, he built the temple of Venus from his own funds, he built the temple of FORTUNA from his own funds, he built the temple of Ceres from his own funds, he provided the market weights with Marcus Turranius from his own funds, he built?/restored? the temple of SPES from his own funds...' ([*idem* aedem Volcani sua pecu / nia restituit, [*idem* aedem Veneris sua pecu / nia constituit / [*idem* aed. FORTUNAE sua pecu / nia constituit/ [*idem* aed. Cereris sua pecunia / constituit / [*idem* pondera ad macellum / cum M. Turranio sua pecu / nia fecit / [*idem* aedem SPEI sua pecunia / [*cons*]tituit...)). They were identified with the 'quattro tempietti' by van Buren at the beginning of the 20th century. Zevi (1973), esp. 566–73 and (2004), esp. 57–9 and n. 32 discusses the identification and Meiggs's alternative proposition (1960: 351) that the temple of SPES might rather be the small temple outside the east gate of the *castrum*.

verb *constituit* found with the other three temples in the inscription does suggest that Gamala was their first founder, current reassessments of the finds and excavation records support its viability.⁹⁸ The ‘quattro tempietti’ stood in an area marked out by *cippi* by Caninius in the Gracchan period as public land. This land is usually thought to have been reserved for operations connected with the port, specifically the *annona*.⁹⁹ Coarelli has recently given his support to an earlier suggestion that the so-called ‘Casa di Apuleio’ very near the temples was the house of (a) Gamala. Earlier phases of the house date back at least to the time of the earlier surviving phase of the ‘tempietti’, that is to the mid-first century. His argument is problematic in a number of respects, but raises the possibility of interesting parallels with the shrines to divine qualities at the top of the theatre of Pompey (see Ch. 6).¹⁰⁰ This temple of SPES thus seems to have been situated on an important thoroughfare and linked to a port, as was that in Rome. It was closely juxtaposed (assuming it was one of the ‘quattro tempietti’) with temples of other deities which, in Rome, were connected to plebeians, to the *annona*, and to military or naval victories, and, at least from the mid-first century, it might conceivably have been closely associated with the house of a Gamala. The complex context suggests opportunities for SPES to be read, in Ostia as in Rome, in numerous ways.

Pietilä-Castrén associated Atilius’ vow to FIDES with the alleged return of his famous relative, M. Atilius Regulus, to die under torture at the hands of the Carthaginians after he had been permitted by them to return to Rome to negotiate peace or an exchange of prisoners, but had opposed any concessions. The act is said to have won Regulus praise for his FIDES, although the story, which is found in Sempronius Tuditanus but not mentioned by Polybius, may have

⁹⁸ Earlier phase disputed e.g. by Meiggs (1960), 127, but on the basis of a re-examination which Zevi (1973), 568 n. 3 was unable to identify.

⁹⁹ For the area’s designation as public land, *CIL* XIV 4702, with e.g. Zevi (1973), 570 and (2004), 61, Coarelli (1994). I have learned a great deal about these temples from a number of papers given by Janet DeLaine in 2005–6, and am grateful to her for sharing as yet unpublished work.

¹⁰⁰ Coarelli (2004), esp. 94–5, noting the parallels with Pompey on the Campus Martius and *passim* for a broader survey of the Gamalian topography of the city. Original proposal by Carcopino (1911), 227. See also D’Arms (2000) on other ways in which Ostia echoed Rome in these years.

been a later invention to justify Regulus' wife torturing two Carthaginian prisoners. The prominent site near the temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus may, in Pietilä-Castrén's view, have been a reward to Calatinus, in place of a triumph, perhaps in homage to Regulus' memory.¹⁰¹ The suggestion is attractive and, if correct, would provide us with an example of a civic temple making a claim about Roman *FIDES*¹⁰² and that of a family group. A personal claim on Calatinus' part (conceivably also relating to the origins of the Atilii¹⁰³) could well also have existed at the (unknown) date of the vow(s). Even if Pietilä-Castrén's suggestion is not correct, the foundation of the temple may well have constituted a space allowing and provoking discussion of Regulus' *FIDES*. Whenever precisely the vows were made and temples built, on one level they signalled both to inhabitants and allies of Rome a civic claim to retain hope of victory by behaving in a way Roman leaders were in other ways proclaiming in the third century to be particular to them or their community.

SPES probably had an earlier temple, or at least cult location (shrine or altar), in the east of Rome, predating Calatinus' foundation, for this area was, or became, known as *SPES VETUS*.¹⁰⁴ Stories suggesting that *FIDES*, too, had received cult before Calatinus' foundation are found in texts dating to a range of different periods, especially the Augustan age, but also earlier, if Agathocles of Cyzicus

¹⁰¹ Pietilä-Castrén (1987), 40–1; Regulus: Peter, *HRR* frg. 5 Sempronius Tuditanus; Hor. *Carm.* 3.5; App. *Pun.* 4. Torture by Regulus' wife: Diod. Sic. 24.12.

¹⁰² A stater from Locri Epizephyri, depicting *PISTIS* crowning Roma, which, with Caccamo Caltabiano (1978), I date around 282 rather than 204, shows that certain people in a community outside Rome saw the value of praising Roman *FIDES*/*PISTIS* before the years of Atilius' foundation.

¹⁰³ Münzer (1920), 58 would place the origin of the Atilii in Campania, on the basis of the *cognomina* of the earliest two Atilii attested in Rome (Calenus and Calatinus). Both these names imply a connection with the neighbourhood of Capua, where, in 110 at least, both *FIDES* and *SPES* received cult with *FORTUNA* (see further Ch. 5). Pietilä-Castrén (1987), 43 suggests that in establishing the two deities in Rome, Calatinus may refer to his Campanian origins, if *SPES* and *FIDES* were of older origin in Campania. However, the earlier joint worship of the three deities cannot be proved on the basis of this single piece of epigraphic evidence, and Champeaux at least (1982*b*: 188 and 1987: 208–10) argues that the joining of *FIDES* and *SPES* in cult with *FORTUNA*, whose temple in Capua is attested a century earlier (Livy 27.11.2) is most likely to have occurred during the second century.

¹⁰⁴ *SPES (VETUS)*: Livy 2.51.2; Dion. Hal. 9.24; Frontin. *Aq.* 1.5, 19, 20, 21, 2.65, 76, 87; SHA *Heliogab.* 13.5.

is correctly dated as having lived from around the second quarter of the third to the early second century. Varro, as we have seen, claimed FIDES as Sabine. The cult foundation is attributed to Numa, and to Rhome, daughter of Ascanius and granddaughter of Aeneas. The former attribution is by far the more common, but both traditions share a desire to establish the cult of FIDES at a very early period. The version by Agathocles, preserved in Festus, places the first temple of FIDES on the Palatine—allegedly founded after the Trojans had taken possession of Italy, but before the foundation of Rome itself, hence the later name ‘Rome’ (from Rhome). Agathocles is more likely to have been writing after than before the dedication of Calatinus’ temple. His attempt ‘without great success... to transpose the present into the mythic past’ is surely a reflection of and response to the preoccupation with Rome and FIDES (and Roman preoccupations with FIDES) in the Greek East in the third/second—especially second—centuries. Creating a cult, and a cult *location* (*FIDEI templum* in Festus) for FIDES in the ‘mythic past’ seeks to make ‘Roman FIDES’ inevitable and primordial. The story of Evander and his Arcadians founding the temple of VICTORIA was similarly useful to Dionysios of Halicarnassus, in the Augustan age, forming a suitable tale for his attempt to prove that ‘Rome’ was ‘Greek.’¹⁰⁵

Livy claims that Numa instituted the cult and cult location (*sacrarium*) to which he ordered the *flamines* to go in a covered two-horse chariot, and to perform the rites with their hands covered as far as the fingers.¹⁰⁶ These rites, with the involvement of the major *flamines* and a covered chariot, appear older than one might expect for a cult established in the third century, when Calatinus’ temple was built. Latte’s assertion that Livy does not here refer to the major *flamines*, but merely uses the word as a synonym for *sacerdotes* as was current in his day has been too often uncritically accepted.¹⁰⁷ Livy’s

¹⁰⁵ Date: Wilson in *OCD*³ 37 (‘Agathocles (2)’). Numa: Livy 1.21; cf. Dion. Hal. 2.75.3; Plut. *Num.* 16.1, and Flor. 1.2.3; Rhome: Agathocles in Festus 328L. ‘Mythic past’: Mellor (1975), 19, who dates Agathocles to c.200. Evander and VICTORIA: Dion. Hal. 1.32.5; Wiseman (1981).

¹⁰⁶ Livy 1.21.3–4 (on which see further Ch. 5).

¹⁰⁷ Latte (1960), 237 and n. 4, and adopted without question by Ogilvie (1965), 104, Fears (1981), 847 n. 76, and Scullard (1981), 189. Analysis of the corpus of Livy suggests that he does not use the terms interchangeably (Vanggaard (1988), 111–12 observes that *sacerdos* is occasionally used in the sense of *flamen*, but never demonstrably the other

reference to the involvement of the *flamines* and the nature of that involvement must, I think, be accepted, leaving two possible explanations of the archaic nature of the rites: either there was a site on the Capitoline of a long-standing cult of *FIDES* prior to Calatinus' foundation (as a hypostasis of an aspect of Iuppiter), or *FIDES qua FIDES* was first established on the Capitoline during the First Punic War, with the deliberate adoption of rites associated with an older deity.¹⁰⁸ The earliest attested epigraphic evidence for *FIDES* is a dedication from the *lucus* near Pisaurum, discussed above, which is probably late third century (and hence post-dates Calatinus' foundation) and connected to the cult in Rome via viritane colonists.¹⁰⁹ This is, of course, an argument *ex silentio*, but it is worth considering the possibility that certain elements from the cult of a deity such as *Dius Fidius* were adopted in the rites of *FIDES* upon the establishment of a temple to *FIDES* on the Capitol in the 250s/240s, to emphasize the importance of the divine quality housed in such a prominent position in the *area Capitolina* in a manner which facilitated stories of her existence in Rome since time immemorial (or rather regal/mythical) for a variety of writers, from the Hellenistic period onwards.

The story associated with the temple of *HONOS* outside the *porta Collina* may be similarly instructive, and is late Republican in its extant form, as recounted by Cicero in *de Legibus*:

You know the temple of *HONOS* outside the *porta Collina*. It is related that there was an altar in that place, and that when a plate was found, close by the altar, on which was inscribed 'belonging to *HONOS*', that was the reason why the temple was dedicated. But since there were many graves in that place, they were dug up; for the priestly college decided that a public place could not have been rendered sacred by private rites (*nostis extra portam Collinam aedem HONORIS. aram in eo loco fuisse memoriae proditum est: ad eam cum lamina esset inventa et in ea scriptum lamina, 'HONORIS', ea causa fuit, <ut>*

way around; Freyburger (1986), ch. 5 argues for early rites). Livy therefore means that the three major *flamines* were involved in the rite.

¹⁰⁸ Various deities concerned with oaths, including Iuppiter, had of course long been established in the city.

¹⁰⁹ *ILLRP* 14 (see n. 75 for details), although Cresci Marrone and Mennella (1984), 93–8 believe the cult is 'extremely old' ('antichissima'), as the literary sources attributing it to Numa imply.

aedes haec dedicaretur; sed cum multa in eo loco sepulcra fuissent, exarata sunt; statuit enim collegium locum publicum non potuisse privata religione obligari).¹¹⁰

Cicero is unlikely to have invented this story himself, which suggests that it was known in some circle(s) in the city. That said, and leaving aside the obvious literary device of ‘assuming the ignorance of the interlocutor in order to inform the reader’, he recounts it to his ‘listeners’ in a manner which may suggest that it was less than widespread. Dyck suggests that Cicero may have studied the case for its implications about the site of his own house.¹¹¹ Here, in a different form, is another story implying that the cult of a divine quality was established in an earlier age: HONOS had received cult on that site a long time before the temple was constructed, the cult had lapsed, and then, with the plate’s ‘rediscovery’, begun again. A dedication to HONOS: ‘M(arcus) [or A(ulus)?] Bicoleius, freedman of Vibius, made this gift deservedly to HONOS’ (*M. (A.?) BICOLEIO(S) V(IBI) L(IBERTUS) HONORE DONUM DEDE(T) MERETO*) was found, *in situ*, underneath the east wing of the present Ministero delle Finanze in 1872/3. The archaic letter forms of this sizeable inscription ($0.6 \times 0.36 \times 0.2$ m), as read by Degraasi, imply that, if the inscription is to be associated with the temple rather than the (putative) altar, the cult and therefore very possibly the temple already existed in the third century. It was probably built between 292 and 219, years about which Livy is (for us) silent.¹¹² The plaque in Cicero’s story could then have been thought to have been found in the third century¹¹³ so that worship of HONOS had already begun before that time, or at least that the tale to which Cicero alludes circulated around that time. If, as is likely, details of the foundation date of the temple survived in Cicero’s day, then the story suggests that the altar dated at least to (earlier in) the third century, and possibly earlier still. The story shows that the temple-to-be was considered of greater importance than the graves removed for its construction. Perhaps a reaction by certain citizens against the

¹¹⁰ Cic. *Leg.* 2.58.

¹¹¹ Dyck (2004), 402.

¹¹² *CIL* VI 3692; *ILLRP* 157; *CIL* 1² 31, with Ziolkowski (1992), 57.

¹¹³ This is indeed entirely credible, given the foundation to the same deity outside the *porta Capena* in 233.

removal of these graves provided the impetus for the 'rediscovery' of the plate referred to by Cicero, to establish the prior right of *HONOS* to the site. Such an act should not be dismissed as a 'cynical manipulation of religion', but rather underlines the importance attached to cult continuity and topography, whether the building of the temple was caused *by* the discovery of the plate, or the 'discovery' was made in order to persuade those affected by the moving of the graves. The impetus behind the foundation, which the nature of the story suggests was at communal expense, would fit well into the period of tension of the Punic Wars.

Another such foundation was the first temple to *MENS*, said to have been ordered by the Sibylline books after Flaminius' defeat at Lake Trasimene.¹¹⁴ In the passage of the *Fasti* concerning *MENS*, Ovid chose to focus on the civic or state-level claim made by such a dedication at a time of real (and perceived) crisis during the Second Punic War. His lines are expressly articulated in opposition to the 'treacherous Carthaginian', drawing out a civic or communal interpretation.¹¹⁵ The driving force behind the foundation seems to have been Q. Fabius Maximus Verrocusus, who dedicated the contemporaneous temple to Venus Erycina, allowing *MENS*' establishment on the Capitol to be read as embodying and permitting claims of opposition to the policy (military and 'religious'¹¹⁶) of Flaminius and those who had supported him. Brizzi promotes a Trojan connection for *MENS* (as for Venus Erycina, whose temple on Mount Eryx was attributed in later Roman legend at least to Aeneas¹¹⁷) as a Roman version of $\mu\eta\tau\iota\varsigma$, the characteristic of Odysseus, with whom Aeneas was equated, and as a quality necessary for defeating an

¹¹⁴ Livy 22.9.7–11, 22.10.10, 23.31.9. The origins of *MENS* are still disputed: see Brizzi (1994), 513 and nn. 13–14 for a summary of those scholars who have taken a position, in a now sterile debate, for a Greek or Italic origin. The cult of *MENS*, or *BONA MENS*, is attested at Paestum, Cora (*ILLRP* 225), Alba Fucens (*ILLRP* 227, 228), Carsoli (see Buonocore (1985)), Tivoli (*CIL* XIV 3564), Puteoli(?) (*ILLRP* 226), and Aquileia (*InAq* 1 and 12, on which see Missere Fontana (1997), 65–7). See Ch. 5 for further discussion of *MENS* (*BONA*).

¹¹⁵ *Ov. Fast.* 6.241–8, on which see further Ch. 5.

¹¹⁶ Caltabiano (1995) provides a nuanced reading of Flaminius' 'religious' policy and its representation in Livy in particular; see Cenerini (1995) on Flaminius and *FORTUNA*.

¹¹⁷ Verg. *Aen.* 5.759–60; Schilling (1954), 245 notes that Aeneas and Anchises do not appear on Segestan coins until after 241 and the Roman installation on Sicily.

enemy such as Hannibal, against whom Flaminius' traditional tactics had failed.¹¹⁸ Rather than providing the (only or correct) explanation, Brizzi's idea is surely better understood as one available way of reading the introduction of *MENS* during this time of crisis: as providing a space and a state cult in Rome which in some way legitimated Fabius' new military approach. The temple of *MENS* was physically visible and could be seen to embody and to trigger claims that *MENS* was accepted and revered to the same degree as was *FIDES*. In this respect, the proximity of the temple of *MENS* on the Capitol, not only to the companion temple of Venus Erycina, as always mentioned in the sources, but also to that of *FIDES* is worth stressing.¹¹⁹

Fabius had also been responsible for a vow to *HONOS*, presumably made in 233 during the first of his five consulships, in which he had fought and triumphed over the Ligurians.¹²⁰ This temple to *HONOS* was situated outside the *porta Capena*, near the temple of Mars. Both temples are mentioned as starting points for the *transvectio equitum*, which had been reorganized by Fabius' great-grandfather Rullianus as censor in 304. The temple was renovated, and an adjoining one to *VIRTUS* added, after a vow to build a temple to

¹¹⁸ Brizzi (1994), esp. 520 (following in part Schilling (1954), 250–1, who himself follows Klausen), and suggesting a common root for *MENS* and *μητις*. Homer describes Aeneas as 'counselling' (*βουλευφόρος*, *Il.* 5.180), and Lycophron as 'not to be trusted in counsel' (*βουλαῖς ἀπιστος*). By the time of Philostratus, *Heroicus*, 38.2, (de Lannoy), Aeneas is the *νοῦς* (mind) of the Trojans, as Hector is their *χείρα* (arm). *Il.* 2.407 for Odysseus as 'equal to Zeus in counsel' (*Διὶ μῆτιν ἀτάλαντον*). Whether the precise link with *μητις* can be justified by these pieces of evidence may be questioned (see Détienne (1974) on *μητις*), but an explanation whereby *MENS* is associated with Venus, because particular to her son, is attractive. The need for *MENS* after Trasimene may perhaps be explained more simply by understanding it as 'nerve', 'courage', or 'will-power', equally apposite to Fabius' famous tactics. This has the advantage of avoiding the over-simplistic reading of Roman tactics made by Brizzi (1982), but the proximity to *FIDES* on the Capitol may still be important. See Erskine (2001), 202–3 on Otacilius.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Garland (1992), ch. 3 on Themistocles. Flaminius' policy had been bolstered by sacrifices to *Genius Publicus* and *IUVENTAS* (identified with Greek Hebe—cf. Fears (1981), 857–8 and Menichetti (1995), 117). Fabius' introduction would seem to set up a new alternative, important at that time, and personal to himself and his supporters on one level. See Fears (1981), 853–6. Brizzi (1994), 520–2; Ch. 4 below on Scaurus' refoundation of both these temples.

¹²⁰ Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.61 on the temple, Plut. *Fab.* 2.1 on the campaign, with Pietilä-Castrén (1987), 48–51.

HONOS and VIRTUS was made by Fabius' great rival, M. Claudius Marcellus, at Clastidium.¹²¹ According to Livy and others, this was from the first a *locus* of conflict, owing to the dispute, prominent in the surviving tradition, between Marcellus and the pontiffs over the propriety of making a joint foundation to the two deities.¹²² Pontifical obstruction (disguising political and ideological opposition) is usually seen as the obstacle to Marcellus' vow,¹²³ raising the possibility of a situation, rather like that of Megellus discussed above, in which the claim about the founder made by the temple may have provoked impediments by rivals, here with more immediate effect. Ziolkowski, on the other hand, proposes that the pontiffs could (and in his view *should*) be seen rather as obliging Marcellus to carry out the vow he had made and failed to fulfil, obstructing only his attempt to avoid building a separate *aedes*.¹²⁴ The impetus for their urgency would, in his view, have been the Hannibalic threat (for Marcellus had still not fulfilled his vow by the time of the Second Punic War), which made urgent the need for the deities to be satisfied. Such an explanation, perhaps better explained by the *Gallic* threat,¹²⁵ would

¹²¹ *transvectio*: *De vir. ill.* 32.3; *Dion. Hal.* 6.13.4. See Pietilä-Castrén (1987), 48–51. Richardson (1978*b*), 244 raises the possibility of the founder being not Verrucosus, but his ancestor Rullianus, and has won some acceptance (e.g. Palombi (1996*a*), 31). This does make more sense of the departure of the *transvectio equitum*, instituted in 304, from that temple, but it does not resolve the problem of Cicero's statement (*Nat. D.* 2.61) that the temple renewed by Marcellus 'had been dedicated many years before by Quintus Maximus during the Ligurian war' (*multis ante annis erat bello Ligustico a Q. Maximo dedicatum*). Conflicting views on the degree of rivalry or cooperation/friendship between Fabius and Marcellus summarized in Cassola (1962), ch. 7, and see also Gros (1979).

¹²² Livy 27.25.7–9; *Val. Max.* 1.1.8; *Plut. Marc.* 28.1.

¹²³ See e.g. Pietilä-Castrén (1987), 58.

¹²⁴ Ziolkowski (1992), 252. An attested case of concern for the non-fulfilment of a vow may be found in the case of the temple to CONCORDIA on the Arx for which *duumviri* were appointed in 217 (Livy 22.33.7–8).

¹²⁵ The continuing Gallic threat, which, although it does not now feature strongly in (the extant books of) Livy, was nevertheless very real, and *perceived as very real* (see Williams (2001*a*)), might explain more readily the focus upon the fulfilment of a vow made in a Gallic campaign. Note Sallust's comment (*Iug.* 114) that Romans believed that 'everything else was without difficulty for their VIRTUS' (*alia omnia VIRTUTIS suae prona esse*) except fighting Gauls. The fact that Marcellus had campaigned against the Gauls, although productive of the *spolia opima* for his defeat of Viridumarus and celebrated by Naevius (see Ch. 3 'fabulae praetextae'), might not have produced sufficient booty for the financing, or at least the decoration, of a temple on the scale desired by Marcellus (who no doubt wished to outdo Fabius' earlier foundation).

imply again the importance of the claims made by installing cults to divine qualities on a state level. It is worth wondering whether, if the fulfilment of the vow were such a priority for the pontiffs, they would have raised *any* objection to its fulfilment, as they did in forbidding a joint dedication (particularly when adjoining *cellae*, such as those of Mater Matuta and FORTUNA in the Forum Boarium, had long been present in the city), but it may be that, in an atmosphere of tension such as would provoke the demand for a vow's fulfilment, the necessity of its (hyper-)correct fulfilment would have been considered equally important.

The Second Century

Fewer foundations to divine qualities are attested for the second century until the important series of foundations and re-foundations on and around the Capitoline in its last two decades, discussed in Chapter 4. An important exception is the temple to PIETAS which, according to Livy, was dedicated in 181 by M' Acilius Glabrio, homonymous son of the man who, as we have already seen, had vowed it in 191 after defeating Antiochus III at Thermopylae.¹²⁶

Two temples to PIETAS were long presumed to exist in Rome until the Circus Flaminius was finally located by Gatti in the area between the theatre of Marcellus, the *porticus* of Octavia and Philippus, and the Tiber.¹²⁷ Remains of a temple have now been recovered during survey work carried out in the area between S. Nicola in Carcere and the theatre of Marcellus, and supplementary findings were provided by a trench dug by Italgas during work in the same area running east-west, linking the *via del teatro di Marcello* to Monte Savello.¹²⁸ The remains are very probably those of the Republican

Pietilä-Castrén (1987), 56 notes that we know of no special booty from the Gallic campaign, and it is worth noting in this respect that when the temple was finally built, it was decorated with statues from Syracuse, where Marcellus appears to have renewed his vow (Cic. *Verr.* 4.123).

¹²⁶ Livy 40.34.4–6. For L. Licinius Lucullus' temple to FELICITAS, see Ch. 6.

¹²⁷ Gatti (1960) and Castagnoli (1961), 606–7.

¹²⁸ Details in Ciano Rossetto (1994–5). The more recent excavation c.2001 is still unpublished.

temple of PIETAS. Its podium lay below the eastern *aula regia* of the theatre, on a foundation platform of Grotta Oscura tufa blocks. It, too, was in Grotta Oscura *opus quadratum* faced with blocks of Monteverde of which two pieces of moulding remain. The front block was *in situ*, while that at the rear had been moved slightly in the ancient period (the gap between the two contained Augustan fill). An *opus quadratum* structure in Grotta Oscura, which was found almost right up against the northern side of the temple of Ianus, has the same orientation as, and is sealed by the same layer as, the remains from the corner with the moulded blocks, and so probably also belongs to the front area of the same temple. The Republican temple of PIETAS thus appears to have resembled the other temples now in S. Nicola in orientation, in building materials and techniques, and in the height of the projecting part of the podium.

Livy makes no mention of Glabrio's vow in his account of 191. By Pliny the Elder's time at least, an aetiology had been attached to this temple—the story of a daughter who suckled her mother in prison to keep her alive: 'as a result of this wonder the mother's SALUS was given for the daughter's PIETAS and both were given food in perpetuity, and the spot itself was consecrated to the goddess, with a temple to PIETAS being built in the consulships of Gaius Quinctius and Manius Acilius, on the site of the prison, where the theatre of Marcellus is now' (*quo miraculo matris SALUS donata filiae PIETATI est ambaeque perpetuis alimentis, et locus ille eidem consecratus deae, C. Quinctio M' Acilio coss. templo PIETATIS exstructo in illius carceris sede, ubi nunc Marcelli theatrum est*).¹²⁹ In other versions of the tale, in other Latin writers, the adult receiving the daughter's milk is the father, rather than the mother, and the two characters are variously named or anonymous. Deonna has shown that the 'moralistic' nature of the story, which draws out the element of filial piety, is probably a later meaning, replacing the original significance of the suckling of an adult. That Livy does not mention this story in connection with the temple does not mean, as Deonna rightly points out, that as a popular tradition it did not already exist in his time or earlier.¹³⁰

¹²⁹ Plin. *HN* 7.121, Val. Max. 5.4.7, Hyg. *Fab.* 254, Festus 228L, and Solin. *Collect. rer. memor.* ed. Mommsen (1864), I 124–5, p. 32 record the story, Festus and Solinus connecting it to Glabrio's temple.

¹³⁰ See Deonna (1955) on the legend in general and interpretations of it.

Not only could this legend serve, at least for Pliny, as a charter myth for the temple of PIETAS, but he also used the story, as attached to the temple, in interpreting the divine quality on a state level. Conceding that unlimited examples of filial affection have occurred 'in the whole world' (*toto orbe*), he alleges that this story is an *exemplum* with which 'none of the others can compare' (*comparari cuncta non possint*). Pliny uses the temple and civic cult, and a tale of an individual, to present the divine quality as peculiarly, or rather particularly, Roman. The spot on which Hera was said to have suckled Heracles, which may be the origin of the story's many variants, was also pointed out in Greece.¹³¹ In Pliny, however, the story became an *exemplum* of Roman PIETAS through Glabrio's temple: the filial PIETAS which Glabrio's son presented himself as exhibiting both by dedicating the temple and by setting up in it a gilded bronze portrait statue of his father—allegedly the first of its kind¹³²—was exemplified in a different kind of story, a symbol of a child's PIETAS to parent, which could be incorporated into the fabric of the city and itself claimed as 'Roman' through the temple.¹³³

In his exploration of social space in Pompeii, Laurence acknowledges that, and explores how, 'people use a space in ways that need not coincide with the intentions of its creator'.¹³⁴ He appears, however, to exclude temples from those spaces to which this statement applies: 'Once established, temples *simply existed*. There was no need to problematize or consider a change for these spaces in the city: they were sacred and viewed as an enduring part of the city's existence.'¹³⁵ Such an assertion is of course true, to the extent that temples were rarely destroyed and rarely changed function because they occupied land that had become a *locus sacer*.¹³⁶ To assert that they 'simply

¹³¹ At least by the time of Pausanias (9.25.2).

¹³² Livy 40.34.4–6; Val. Max. 2.5.1.

¹³³ Opimius' choice of CONCORDIA in 121 might, from one point of view, be seen as an attempt similarly to introduce CONCORDIA into a focal area of the city after a time of conflict. The resentment the edifice caused, however, demonstrates very clearly how '[o]ne man's *concordia* is another man's capitulation' (Bispham, in Bispham and Smith (2000), 11).

¹³⁴ Laurence (1994), 135.

¹³⁵ *ibid.* 137 (emphasis added).

¹³⁶ Although see Ch. 6 for Caesar's actions with the temple of FELICITAS.

existed', however, contributes to an impression that such spaces were set apart from the rest of the urban fabric. The introduction of cult to various divine qualities to Rome in the last three centuries of the Republic, or their provision with new cult sites, marked out spaces in the city that permitted various claims to be made and contested.¹³⁷ Such processes were *not* confined to the time of foundation. A new temple foundation was not an isolated act, but created a new festival and a new physical element in Rome's topography—one that did not 'simply exist'. Forms of interaction with such structures in the years after the foundation's creation are therefore particularly important, and I shall examine a number of such interactions in Chapter 5. As I suggested earlier, so many of the accounts of foundations to divine qualities that have formed the focus of this chapter now exist only in versions from later periods, when attempts to mark out Roman-ness were important in various genres, that we might want to think of them precisely as examples of later interactions by a range of writers. Within those narratives, however, I believe we do find at least echoes of earlier stories. Despite the more extensive extant evidence from the late Republic and early empire, parts of the fourth, third, and second centuries, too, were times of innovation, and of reaction to changing circumstances. Establishing cults to certain divine qualities and talking about them were part of that innovation, as surviving dramatic evidence from the third and second centuries shows very clearly.

¹³⁷ Beard, North, and Price (1998), i 125 play down connections between the 'fabric of the religious buildings of the city of Rome and the religious ideology, attitudes and devotion of its citizens' ('We can never know what any Roman "felt", at any period, when he decided to use his wealth to build a temple to a particular god; still less how Romans might have felt when entering, walking past or simply gazing at the religious monuments of their city.'). Nonetheless, there must be a connection between building temples and *claims* of devotion to divinity, whatever the 'real' attitude behind the building. It is, moreover, important to be aware of the physical and temporal framework of the city and the way that this framework was changed by the introduction of new cults, in the context of their foundation—we may never know what (individual) people 'felt', but this does not negate the importance of investigating the changing urban landscape, including temples, to which they were able to react.

Staging Divine Qualities

- Eucl. Now, my pot, the best thing I can do is to carry you away into the shrine of FIDES: there I'll hide you well. FIDES, you know me and I you: you take care not to change your name on me, if I consign this to you. I'll go to you, FIDES, trusting in your trustiness.
- Eucl. Only take care that you don't reveal to anyone that my gold is there, FIDES: I'm not afraid of anyone finding it, it's so well stowed away in its hiding-place. By Pollux, if anyone should come upon that pot crammed full of gold, what pretty plunder he would get; but, FIDES, I beseech you to prevent that. Now I'll wash, so that I may sacrifice and not delay my prospective relation from marrying my daughter just as soon as he sends for her. FIDES, do, do see that I take my pot back safe from you: I have entrusted my gold to your FIDES, it's hidden in your grove and shrine.
- Strob. Immortal gods, what act did I hear this man tell of? That he has hidden a pot crammed full of gold here inside the shrine of FIDES! Be careful, I beseech you, not to be faithful to him rather than to me.
- Eucl. *nunc hoc mihi factu est optimum, ut ted auferam,
aula, in FIDEI fanum: ibi abstrudam probe.
FIDES, novisti me et ego te: cave sis tibi,
ne in me mutassis nomen, si hoc concreduo.
ibo ad te fretus tua, FIDES, fiducia.*
- Eucl. *Tu modo cave quoiquam indicassis aurum meum esse istic, FIDES:
non metuo ne quisquam inveniatur, ita probe in latebris situmst.
edepol ne illic pulchram praedam agat, si quis illam invenerit
aulam onustam auri; verum id te quaeso ut prohibeas, FIDES.
nunc lavabo, ut rem divinam faciam, ne affinem morer
quin ubi accersat meam extemplo filiam ducat domum.
vide, FIDES, etiam atque etiam nunc, salvam ut aulam abs te auferam:
tuae FIDE concredidi aurum, in tuo loco et fano est situm.*

Strob. *Di immortales, quod ego hunc hominem facinus audivi loqui:
se aulam onustam auri abstrusisse hic intus in fano FIDE.*
*cave tu illi fidelis, quaeso, potius fueris, quam mihi.*¹

Euclio, miserly inhabitant of Athens-that-is-Rome-and-yet-not-Rome, fearing for his precious pot of gold in a house full of c(r)ooks and wedding preparations, hits upon what seems to him the best expedient in the circumstances: he will temporarily hide his treasure in the shrine of FIDES and entrust his wealth to her FIDES. The slave Strobilus, overhearing Euclio's supplications to the goddess, also claims the support of FIDES in his bid to steal the pot from the old man, although he is in fact only successful once Euclio has moved his treasure to the grove of Silvanus outside the city.² A temple of a divine quality is here seen to fulfil a role in the lives of inhabitants of 'Rome', a role closely connected to the quality venerated in the space. Although the scene itself may be based upon one in a Menandrian model, the choice of the shrine of FIDES at least, and hence the verbal play upon FIDES, might well be Plautus' own, since PISTIS is not known to have received a shrine in Greece until the time of the emperor Hadrian.³

On one level, the actions of Euclio and Strobilus resemble responses encountered elsewhere in this book. Two individuals are each able to use a physical space delineated in Rome by the cult paid to FIDES in order both to further their own projects and to make claims about themselves, through particular readings of that divine quality. Euclio calls upon a previous acquaintance or understanding between himself and FIDES ('FIDES, you know me and I you'). He

¹ Plaut. *Aul.* 582–6; 608–18.

² Konstan (1983), 37–8 rightly notes that Euclio's gold is in fact kept safe in the temple of FIDES. Euclio is *not* abandoned by FIDES, but suffers because he is unable to trust 'TRUST'. The point at issue here, however, is the way both characters are able to address (different aspects of) FIDES, for all that Strobilus, too, undermines his stance at the end of the speech (*Aul.* 621–3): 'but if I find it [the gold], o FIDES, I shall give you a congius-pot full of wine and honey. I'll do that for you; but when I've done it, I'll drink it up myself' (*sed si repperero, o FIDES, / mulsi congialem plenam faciam tibi fideliam. / id adeo tibi faciam; verum ego mihi bibam, ubi id fecero*).

³ See, *contra* Skutsch, Fraenkel (1960), 27 n. 2 and 401. Rosivach (1970), 450 claims 'relative unimportance' for the *fanum FIDEI* in this scene, but his reading of the staging is unconvincing in its apparent disregard of any source of humour. Moore (1998), 44–7 provides a more sensitive reading of the lines in question, without discussing the shrine itself. Lejay (1925), 191 remains useful.

emphasizes how, for him at least, the deity's 'meaning' is synonymous with his reading of the concept she embodies (TRUST) by warning her not to change her *name*, and, when anxious, by repeating, 'FIDES... I have entrusted the gold to your FIDES'. Strobilus, however, claims that FIDES should be more '*faithful*' (*fidelis*) to him than to Euclio. Before exploring the significance of these discrepant readings further, it will be important to clarify the usefulness of theatrical evidence for this enquiry. For the sequence I have been discussing did not, of course, take place in the grove of FIDES itself, but rather (in all likelihood) on a stage temporarily erected for *ludi scaenici*. Euclio's and Strobilus' interactions with FIDES were performed, and their claims were knowingly uttered, in front of an audience of festival-goers.

COMIC QUALITIES

There are both great advantages and obvious dangers inherent in using dramatic evidence in an investigation of cult and of civic practices and discourses, dangers which vary, to an extent, for comic and for tragic material. Mikalson has drawn attention, for example, in the field of Greek tragedy, to the lack of theoretical or practical investigation into the relationship of the deities of 'poetry' to those of cult, and to the ability of drama to give to one god the functions shared amongst many in worship.⁴ Parker, too, has commented on the lack of complete harmony between the gods of civic oratory and of tragedy in Greece, but he adds, significantly, that, "real religion"... is itself a jostling mass of competing beliefs and values and interpretations and uncertainties (of which the images of the divine presented in tragedy are themselves a part).⁵ He rightly suggests that it would be wrong to disassociate them completely—particularly given that tragedies often issued from the foundation of a civic cult.⁵ This observation must, I think, also be true of other

⁴ Mikalson (1991), esp. 3–4, emphasizing differences between tragedy and comedy.

⁵ Parker (1997), 148, remarking at 155 n. 45 that Romans liked to be 'reassured of divine favour, even... in tragedies'; Feeney (1998), 25 makes a similar point with regard to religion and art.

theatrical genres, including the comedies originally performed in late third and early second-century Rome. These were frequently staged at civic festivals (which were themselves physically and conceptually linked to temples) as well as at temple dedications and other public events, like funerals.⁶

A further complexity must be taken into account in the case of the comedies put on in Republican Rome and Italy, particularly because the only texts to have survived whole are *palliata* comedies (comedies 'in Greek dress') by Plautus and Terence. It is important to keep in mind the way in which, and the extent to which, these reworked Athenian New Comedy. From many perspectives, we may question how far any attempt should be made to separate the 'old' from the 'new'. This is largely true of the perspective adopted here, of examining *how* those viewing plays were able to (see others) draw upon qualities receiving cult when thinking about themselves and other people. The need has long been recognized to consider the comedies of Plautus and Terence not only as adaptations, but as plays staged for and appealing to audiences in Rome and other parts of Italy. Recent work has been increasingly based upon an appreciation of the fundamentally self-defeating nature of attempts to separate 'Greek' from 'Roman', together with an acknowledgement that not all of the work of Plautus, for example, was necessarily based upon particular 'originals'.⁷ McCarthy describes well the need not for 'a finer gauge for separating the genuine Plautus from the distracting accretions but [for] a way of theorizing the text as we have it, as an irreducibly complex structuring of these varied elements'. Leigh has, moreover, recently questioned certain entrenched ideas which are based on the assumption that some parts of Roman comedy taken over directly from 'originals' were irrelevant to Rome. He has reopened, for example, the question of whether characters like courtesans and

⁶ e.g. Plautus' *Stichus* at the *ludi Plebei* of 200, his *Pseudolus* at the opening of the temple of the Magna Mater in 191, Terence's *Phormio* at the *ludi Romani* of 161, and his *Adelphoe* at L. Aemilius Paullus' funeral in 160.

⁷ On the need not to separate out 'Greek' and 'Roman' elements, see e.g. Amatucci (1950), 209 and esp. Hanson (1959a), 50, Segal (1987), 7, and Gruen (1990), 152. Challenges to the idea that all Plautus' work was based on particular Greek originals began with Goldberg (1978) on the *Epidicus*, followed by e.g. Stärk (1989) on the *Menaechmi* and Lefèvre *et al.* (1991).

parasites were alien to Roman society.⁸ The attempt, indissociable from the name of Fraenkel,⁹ to isolate passages which appear to have been inserted or expanded by Plautus (or a later reviser) retains value, however, because such passages may often be seen to have a particularly identifiable kind of 'topicality' and thus to be of interest to the social, cultural, or intellectual historian, provided they be considered in the context of the play as a whole, and not analysed separately.

The underlying models for Roman comedy were the writers of the *Nea*, who by and large avoided the kind of direct political commentary found in Aristophanes and other writers of Old Comedy in favour of social and domestic themes (in part, perhaps, because of the changing, increasingly non-Athenian, membership of their audiences). It is nonetheless inconceivable that the writers of comedies designed to be put on in Rome did not make their plays in some ways topical. The nature of the subject matter, together with our lack of precise chronology for most surviving Roman comedies, should, however, caution against attempts to pinpoint references to contemporary events too specifically. Thus, although I am not sure that Gruen is right to believe that Plautus' topicality was necessarily concerned *only* with general issues of his day, I do believe that this is now the most reasonable basis on which we should approach the evidence as it has come down to us. Exploring the treatment of broader questions and issues raised in the plays now offers the most productive avenue for further investigation.¹⁰

Another potential danger in using dramatic evidence is overestimating the effect of the plays on their audiences, as Toliver

⁸ McCarthy (2000), 5, a theory developed in the rest of this stimulating work, which examines the Plautine corpus as a deliberate dialogue between a 'naturalistic' and 'farical' world-view; Leigh (2004), 16–20, in a study taking a fresh look at the intersection between comedy and history and asking some very valuable questions.

⁹ Fraenkel (1960).

¹⁰ Gruen (1990), ch. 4, esp. 128. Leigh (2004), 4 and 20–3 for another sceptical view of topicality, rightly preferring (*passim*) to use the intersections of comedy and 'history' as a springboard for investigating 'discursive categories' in the period in which the plays were performed. Arcellaschi (1978) exemplifies attempts to situate such plays chronologically, by inferring an overly precise, unreliable topicality in equating the eponymous hero of the *Pseudolus* with Flamininus; cf. Moore (1998), ch. 5.

did in sweepingly asserting that Plautus encouraged increasing scepticism towards the gods, and so ‘contributed to the gradual deterioration of the state cult and thereby to the social and political disintegration within the Republic’(!).¹¹ Without resorting to such extremes, we might still want to pay close attention to a comic world which was woven by the nature and location of the performances into the fabric of civic life, despite often actively presenting itself as a world apart. Plautus’ plays in particular offer us a rich opportunity to glimpse some of the ways in which questions relevant to Roman society were aired during the years presented by Polybius as those crucial for Rome’s growth into a Mediterranean power to be reckoned with.

Essential to a fuller appreciation of any performance in such terms is some understanding of its spectators. There are clues, although they are sparse and open to a degree of interpretation, about those who took part as viewers in this comic world—about their number, status, gender, and age, and how many opportunities potential audience members might have had to watch performances.¹² Goldberg calculated that probably not more than 2,000 spectators in Plautus’ day attended each play at the *Megalesia*—the festival that took place in front of the temple of the Magna Mater, and at which Plautus’ *Pseudolus* (191) and four of Terence’s surviving plays (in the 160s) are known to have been staged. The figure, based on the evidence of Pensabene’s excavations on the Palatine, comprises the estimated seating available on the temple steps and nearby at the temple of VICTORIA, from which locations audiences watched performances on a wooden stage constructed in the plaza before the temple of the Magna Mater.¹³ An audience of such (relatively) restricted size—relative, that is, to seating in the Circus or in the permanent theatres

¹¹ Toliver (1949), 432. Plautus consciously and explicitly engages his audience on such questions at *Rud.* 1249–53, well addressed by Moore (1998), ch. 4, *passim*, esp. 80.

¹² On questions of the nature of audiences for Plautus and other drama see e.g. Sedgwick (1927), Beare (1928), Cèbe (1960), Chalmers (1965), Handley (1975), Rawson (1991), 513–14, Franko (1992), Leigh (2000), Horsfall (2003), 58.

¹³ Goldberg (1998), esp. 4–8 on the venue and 14–20 on the consequences for stagecraft. Evidence for performances may be found in the *didascalia* for the plays in question. Pensabene (1998), 34–59 for a summary of the archaeological evidence for the Magna Mater temple.

built much later in Rome, although approximating those of the largest capacity theatres today, which hold between 1,500 and just over 2,000 spectators—helps to illuminate the easy and informal relationship between actors and audience, particularly in the prologues of Plautus. Goldberg's conclusions imply that '[t]housands, not tens of thousands, saw each performance', at least at the *Megalasia*, but he suggests that 'we should probably imagine multiple or even continuous performances... or... encore performances when audiences discovered a particular favourite'.¹⁴ Without exaggerating the percentage of those in the teeming city who might have attended a given festival, then, it may reasonably be supposed that a large number of people could have seen some of the plays that form the corpus for investigation here. Despite the care that must be taken to avoid indiscriminate generalizations about the 'effect' of theatrical performances, such an observation is important. This is particularly true given the increase in the number of festivals in the period under consideration, with theatrical performances at the *ludi Romani* (at which a drama by Livius Andronicus was staged in 240 BC) being joined by those at the *ludi Apollinares* (from 212), *Plebeii* (by at least 200), *Cereales* (from before 201), *Megalenses* (from 194), and *Florales* (c.240, made annual in 173).¹⁵

Our knowledge of the kinds of people who attended different plays in the Republic depends on a few passages in the plays themselves—the *Poenulus* prologue, for example, apostrophizing old tarts (*scorta exoleta*, their sex unclear¹⁶), lictors, ushers, slaves, nurses and their charges, and married women in terms that imply that these are likely, if not desirable, members of an audience—and on inferences which

¹⁴ Goldberg (1998), 15–16. Gruen (1992), 187 n. 20 stresses that Ross Taylor's attractive suggestion of Plautine popularity as a source of *instauraciones* is 'guess-work', emphasizing that religious, rather than theatrical, reasons for the repetition of plays are provided by Livy, but, whatever the reason(s), the result remained repetition of plays. Morgan (1990) suggests 'religious' explanations for the institution of the *Floralia*.

¹⁵ Dates given are those from which *ludi scaenici* are attested or inferred, not those of the institution of the festivals themselves. Taylor (1937), Duckworth (1994), 76–9, and Gruen (1992), ch. 5 provide fuller discussion of the establishment of the various *ludi*, the many instances of *instauratio* 216–179 BC, and other occasions (funerals, triumphs) at which *ludi scaenici* were sometimes held during this period.

¹⁶ Plaut. *Poen.* 17; Moore (1991), 349 and n. 16 argues that they are male prostitutes.

may, with care, be drawn from the plays themselves, as well as on later accounts like that of Cicero, describing the *Megalesia* during Clodius' aedileship in 56. He speaks of free men and *matronae* not daring to approach for fear of Clodius' slaves, which suggests that women would normally have composed part of the audience.¹⁷

Neither audiences over what constitutes a relatively long time span, nor the audiences of individual plays, should ever be thought of as a single, homogeneous group,¹⁸ but plays do appear to have been a source of entertainment that brought together disparate elements in society. The surviving texts therefore form a particularly important, though incomplete, contemporary corpus of dramatic scripts producing performances that consciously explored, portrayed, or discussed a number of issues in front of a broad cross-section of society.¹⁹ Such issues, as we shall see, were articulated, in part, through and around divine qualities. This should lead us to pay proper attention to the possibility that the cognitive vocabulary under examination here was one resonant for more than just the élite of Roman society, and that a significant contribution to that resonance was made by plays like these, in which elements of that 'vocabulary', their referents, and their connotations were staged in front of heterogeneous audiences. This possibility is strengthened by conclusions drawn elsewhere in this book about the uses of this 'vocabulary' in *contiones* and on coins, and chimes in with recent work addressing the level of 'civic knowledge' of those listening to *contiones*.²⁰ A willingness to explore the consequences of such a

¹⁷ Plaut. *Poen.* 17–35, which may post-date Plautus, but is still relevant to the second century BC; Cic. *Har. resp.* 24, not necessarily relevant for studying audience composition in Plautus' day, but, together with the *Poenulus* passage, surely suggesting women were usually present. A full collection of sources on audience composition may be found in Csapo and Slater (1994), 306–17 (to which add *Har. resp.* 22–6, the difficulties of which in terms of possible bans on slave attendance are discussed by Rawson (1991), 513–14).

¹⁸ Monaco (1969), 306 succinctly spells out the obvious dangers of such an approach.

¹⁹ That the audiences of comedies and tragedies were not mutually exclusive seems assured by the references to tragedies (Latin as well as Greek) in Plautus' comedies: see e.g. Sedgwick (1927) and Cèbe (1960). The alternative view, that parodies do not require the spectators to know the text parodied, is presented by Monaco (1969) on Cèbe (1960). Horsfall (2003), 58–9 has brief but important points to make on audiences' (acquisition of) knowledge of Greek myths in a theatrical context.

²⁰ See Ch. 1, esp. n. 37.

possibility does not entail thinking of *palliata* comedies as exclusively 'popular', nor as giving access to a 'hidden transcript'—in which those of lower status rebel or express alternate views by subverting the language of those in power. It must be right, with McCarthy, to understand Plautus' plays less in terms of the self-expression of those without a voice in society and more in terms of James C. Scott's 'public transcript'—that is, as actions and words that dominant and subordinate groups use when they are together. The works of Plautus (the focus of McCarthy's study) and others were *primarily* influenced by the dominant forces in society. The comedies were (often) performed at publicly funded religious festivals, those commissioning works were inevitably élite males holding magistracies or organizing the funeral of a family member, and a number of the dramatists composing in Rome were connected to members of the élite.²¹ Yet we know that such patronage did not involve full censorship or total control,²² nor does encouraging values to be questioned threaten the fabric of a society. In her subtle evaluation of Plautine audiences, McCarthy also observes that they were 'not made up of "masters" per se but of spectators, each of whom enjoys and struggles against a contradictory cluster of privileges and obligations made concrete in a variety of relationships defined both upwards and downwards'.²³ What the plays give us partial access to, then, is neither a subversive articulation of élite vocabularies by outsiders or those from oppressed social strata, *nor* the simplistic and subsidized promotion of values important to the élite. It is rather (among other things)

²¹ McCarthy (2000), 17–18, *pace* Pansieri (1997), who attempts to address the question of the effect of Plautus' 'marginal' status on his works. Many of his conclusions—principally the idea that the plays reflect Plautus' empathy with the oppressed and the outsider—are based on an over-interpretation of biographical details, and are thus of doubtful value.

²² The works of the Augustan poets, including Virgil's *Aeneid*, are far from lacking in subtlety, nor do they suppress questions—issues explored for example by Lyne (1987 and 1995). Although this is not a contemporary comparison, its value is strengthened when we note how Virgil's work was read or performed in theatre settings: Horsfall (1995), 250–1 and (2003), 15 and 56. Augustus was also in an important sense a 'supreme' patron in a way in which those sponsoring the plays in question here could not be, but as Leigh (2004), 189 points out, even here the darker aspects of Aeneas in the *Aeneid*, for example, should 'make us reconsider our assumptions about the dynamics of patronage in the Augustan age' rather than dismiss difficult comparisons between Augustus and Aeneas in the work.

²³ McCarthy (2000), 19.

traces of how our cognitive vocabulary was being used. Expressed in new forms in the years in which the plays were first staged, new elements took on the 'tone' or charge bestowed by membership of that vocabulary, and further reinforced the divine qualities' resonance through the claims about selves and others for which they were found useful. These 'others' could be comic Athenians, Epirots, Tarentines, or Carthaginians, masters, slaves, or prostitutes, and the claims that could be articulated through or about these characters operated both at the domestic level *and* the supra-civic (that pertaining to relations between Romans and other peoples).

We have already seen that by the end of the Second Punic War, SALUS, VICTORIA, FIDES, SPES, FORTUNA, LIBERTAS, HONOS and VIR-TUS, CONCORDIA, and MENS all had at least one temple in the city—the latter three dedicated or vowed during the course of the Hannibalic war itself. In the following three decades FORTUNA PRIMIGENIA, VICTORIA VIRGO, PIETAS, and FORTUNA EQUESTRIS were also provided with an *aedes*.²⁴ Plautus' comedies are a particularly rich source, then, because they were written and first performed in years during or shortly before a large number of divine qualities were 'given a home' in Rome. As such they provide valuable testimony about reception of and responses to these divine qualities in the city, and about the extent to which they were drawn upon in plays which—to varying degrees and in different ways—commented on or echoed wider concerns of their time. In view of Wright's detailed analysis, Plautus' *œuvre* may now, moreover, be envisaged as widely representative of *palliata* comedies.²⁵ The ways in which divine qualities were engaged with by a wide range of Plautine characters therefore merit close attention, and should be supplemented where possible by comparison with Terence and surviving fragments of other dramatists.²⁶

If those watching the plays comprised in reality a heterogeneous and potentially shifting set, occupying diverse positions within various

²⁴ FORTUNA PRIMIGENIA (Livy 29.36.8, 34.53.5–6); VICTORIA VIRGO (Livy 35.9.6); PIETAS (Livy 40.34.4–6); and FORTUNA EQUESTRIS (Livy 40.40.10; 40.44.9; 42.3.1–11; 42.10.5).

²⁵ Wright (1974).

²⁶ Although my focus here is comedy (in large part because our only surviving entire texts are comedies), the qualities also occur in surviving tragic fragments.

strata of the hierarchies operating within society, then the characters whom these spectators observed in *palliata* comedies share at least one of these characteristics: they, too, represent a wide cross-section of society. Inhabitants and visitors, fathers, mothers, freeborn sons and daughters, slaves, soldiers, courtesans, parasites, and pimps all regularly appear on the comic stage, portrayed in a process of negotiating positions within their 'world'. (In the case of the plays, of course, the position of a character like the clever slave was usually the same at the end of the play as it was at the beginning.) Those characters who invoke, or otherwise engage with, divine qualities in the course of these negotiations also cover a wide status range—many of them are slaves—and do so for many different reasons.

The prologue in the *Casina* orders the spectators to greet FIDES, while the *Poenulus* prologue hopes that SALUS will support the audience.²⁷ Euclio first demonstrates his paranoia when he threatens his slave Staphyla, 'if BONA FORTUNA comes, don't you let her in' (*si BONA FORTUNA veniat, ne intro miseris*), allowing his servant to quip in reply, 'why, I think she takes care not to be let in, for she never comes to our house, even though she's nearby' (*pol ea ipsa credo ne intro mittatur cavet, / nam ad aedis nostras numquam adit, quamquam prope est*). The old gentleman Demaenetus in the *Asinaria* promises to tell his slave the truth since the latter implores him through Dius Fidius (*per Dium Fidium*), while Terence's Demea despairs even of the power of SALUS to save the situation in which his household finds itself: 'SALUS herself, even if she should wish to, cannot save this household' (*ipsa si cupiat SALUS, servare prorsu' non potest hanc familiam*).²⁸ The parasite in the *Captivi*, on being ordered *respice* ('turn around') by his patron, replies, without turning, 'you're ordering me to do what FORTUNA doesn't and won't do for you' (*FORTUNA quod tibi nec facit nec faciet, me iubes*), playing on FORTUNA RESPICIENS. In the *Poenulus*, Lydus, the *leno* (pimp), sarcastically greets the *advocati*, wishing them what he claims to know that FORTUNA will not allow them.²⁹ When the slave Chrysalus in the

²⁷ Plaut. *Cas.* 1–2; *Poen.* 128.

²⁸ Plaut. *Aul.* 100–2; *Asin.* 23; Ter. *Ad.* 761–2.

²⁹ *Capt.* 834; *Poen.* 623–4: 'may you all be fortunate, which I know for certain will not happen, nor will FORTUNA allow it to happen' (*fortunati omnes sitis, quod certo scio / nec fore nec FORTUNAM id situram fieri*).

Bacchides swears an oath in the name of a comically long list of gods, he chooses, ‘*Iuppiter Iuno Ceres / Minerva †Latona SPES OPIS VIRTUS Venus / Castor Polluces Mars Mercurius Hercules / Summanus Sol Saturnus*’. Libanus and Leonida in the *Asinaria*, teasing their master, identify themselves as *SALUS* and *FORTUNA*, and, in a surviving fragment of Afranius (the mid-to-late-second-century writer of *comoedia togata*) an unidentifiable character describes himself as sought by *BONA FORTUNA*. This playwright, then, at least continued to use similar devices. Geta, slave in Terence’s *Phormio*, exhorts his master: ‘*FORTUNA* helps the brave’ (*fortis FORTUNA adiuvat*), and soliloquizes to *FORS FORTUNA*. Another slave, Milphio in Plautus’ *Poenulus*, demonstrates his ability to keep a secret by comparing himself to *FIDES*: ‘*FIDES* cannot be trusted more’ (*FIDE non melius creditur*). Simia, a slave in the *Pseudolus*, refuses to greet the pimp Ballio by saying ‘I have no *SALUS* to be given away’ (*nulla est mihi SALUS dataria*). The slave *Pseudolus* philosophizes about the role of *FORTUNA*, as does young Chaerea in Terence’s *Eunuchus*. Young Pamphilus in Terence’s *Hecyra* also addresses *FORTUNA*.³⁰

These varied examples serve to illustrate how, in the comic world at least, divine qualities were available to be drawn upon by people of every status. *SALUS* and *FORTUNA* are particularly often brought into play in Plautus and are the only divine qualities addressed by characters in Terence.³¹ When Libanus and Leonida identify themselves with the message they bring (which, in this as in so many cases, is money), and hence call themselves *SALUS* and *FORTUNA*, they deliberately draw attention to resources already given to these divine qualities in the city, by asking for statues, altars, and sacrifice. Both *SALUS* and *FORTUNA*, as we have seen, received temples relatively early. *SPES* too, often associated with both *FORTUNA* and *SALUS*, in the plays as in cult, may well have had a longer cult history, although

³⁰ *Bacch.* 892–5; *Asin.* 712–27 (other examples of such identification at *Merc.* 867 and *Pseud.* 709). Ribbeck (1898), 263: ‘for who’s looking for me? *BONA FORTUNA*’ (*num quis me quaesit? BONA FORTUNA*) with Axtell (1987/1907), 72; *Ter. Phorm.* 203, 841–2; *Plaut. Poen.* 890; *Pseud.* 968 and esp. 678–80. *Ter. Eun.* 1046: ‘or should I commend *FORTUNA*, who has been my guide’ (*an FORTUNAM conlaudem, quae gubernatrix fuit*); *Hec.* 406.

³¹ e.g. *SALUS*: *Asin.* 713, 717, 718, 727; *Capt.* 529, 864; *Cist.* 644, 742; *Merc.* 867; *Mostell.* 351; *Poen.* 128; *Pseud.* 709; *FORTUNA*: *Asin.* 716, 718, 727; *Aul.* 100; *Capt.* 304, 834, 864; *Pers.* 515–16; *Poen.* 973; *Pseud.* 678–9.

she had only definitely received a temple in the 250s.³² These are the divine qualities most frequently chosen for deliberate identification with a person, and to whom, significantly, characters often refer or appeal when in difficulties or needing help.³³ Winkler has not convinced me that invocations often found in Plautus, such as ‘may SALUS keep you safe’ (*ut vos SALUS servassit*), are to be considered on a purely personal level as a personification of the well-being of individuals, and hence as completely separate from the state cult of SALUS.³⁴ The connection to individuals is certainly important, but no utterance of SALUS, as we have seen, could be wholly untheological. Such a clear-cut distinction, stripping divinity from these qualities, is ultimately untenable. It may, however, be necessary to make a distinction between long-established divine qualities, to which people might by this point automatically have turned in ‘everyday speech’ (in so far as this is reflected in dramatic evidence) and more recent ‘installations’, such as PIETAS and VIRTUS.

DIVINE QUALITIES ON THE STAGE

The surviving comic corpus provides a particularly useful illustration of the fluidity of divine qualities at this time, in terms of their ‘divine’ and ‘conceptual’ make-up, and of the potentially fruitful nature of

³² *Asin.* 712–27. Plays: *Merc.* 867, where Eutyclus identifies himself as *SPES*, *SALUS*, *VICTORIA* for Charinus; *Mostell.* 350–1, where Tranio expresses his consternation—‘our *SPES* is gone, there is no standing-room for *Confidentia*, nor can *SALUS* herself, should she so wish, be *SALUS* to us now’ (*occidit spes nostra, nusquam stabulum est confidentiae, nec salus nobis salutem iam esse, si cupiat, potest*); *Pseud.* 709, where Calidorus asks ‘tell me whether I should greet you [or ‘wish you *SALUS*’] as *SPES* or *SALUS*, *Pseudolus*?’ (*Dic utrum spemne an salutem te salutem, Pseudole?*), cf. *Rud.* 680: ‘O *SPES* of my *SALUS*’ (*O salutis meae spes*). Cult: *Plut. De fort. Rom.* 10, *Quaest. Rom.* 74, a shrine to *TYCHE EUELPIS*; *FIDES*, *FORTUNA*, and *SPES* shared a cult in Capua. See Ch. 2 (n. 103) and Ch. 5 for the age of these cults.

³³ *Capt.* 529: ‘and not *SALUS* herself can save me now, even if she wishes’ (*neque iam salus servare, si volt, me potest*); *Cist.* 670: ‘holy *SPES* help me’ (*spes mihi sancta subveni*); *Mostell.* 351; *Poen.* 973: ‘*FORTUNA* will be your helper somehow’ (*aliqua fortuna fuerit adiutrix tibi*); *Rud.* 231: ‘Good *SPES*, I beseech you, come to my aid’ (*spes bona, obsecro, subventa mihi*).

³⁴ Winkler (1995), 28–9.

this fluidity.³⁵ The frequency with which qualities not otherwise attested as receiving cult are represented or addressed as gods in Plautus may in part reflect contemporary interest in the introduction of cults to an increasing number of ‘qualities’. Many of the passages in which this occurs were identified by Fraenkel as Plautine insertions, which strengthens this possibility. *Luxuria* and *Inopia* in the *Trinummus* clearly underline that they are Plautine constructions when identifying themselves and their mother–daughter relationship. *Auxilium*, the belated prologue of the *Cistellaria*, grumbles about Syra’s exposition of the situation at issue, ‘But if she had kept silent, I was about to tell you, I, a god, who could do so more clearly. For my name is *Help*’ (*quod si tacuisset, tamen ego eram dicturus, deus, qui poteram planius. nam mihi auxilio esset nomen*). The emphasis on his/its divine status has parallels both in New Comedy and in the words of other gods appearing on stage in Plautus. Here, it may partly be accounted for by *Auxilium*’s late entry, and particularly perhaps, as Feeney suggests, by the uncomfortable nature of *Auxilium* as a (neuter) god, a tension deliberately played upon by Plautus.³⁶ The playwright may also have poked fun at the practice of worshipping concepts in the *Bacchides*, when *Pistoclerus* mocks his tutor for being a *barbarus* for not knowing the names of the gods *amor*, *voluptas*, *venus*, *venustas*, *gaudium*, *iocus*, *ludus*, *sermo*, *suavisaviatio*. *Toxilus* dangles *FORTUNA LUCRIFERA* (‘*Lucrative FORTUNA*’) as bait for the *leno* *Dordalus* in the *Persa*, giving a new epithet to *FORTUNA*, who was worshipped in many other guises in Rome. *Labrax* in the *Rudens* may similarly play with convention when he complains, ‘I brought bad *FORTUNA* to my house when I brought you’ (*MALAM FORTUNAM in*

³⁵ Feeney (1998), 88 and Ch. 1 above; cf. Fears (1981), 845 n. 69. Both Coleman-Norton (1936), 70 and McDonnell (1990), 169 comment on the difficulty of distinguishing in the case of *FORTUNA* between the concept, personification, and deity, but neither pursues the implications of this difficulty. Champeaux (1981) also divides instances of *FORTUNA* in comedy into very distinct categories.

³⁶ Fraenkel (1960), 215–17, 66, 110, 64, and 434 on e.g. *Merc.* 866–72; *Bacch.* 115 ff.; *Capt.* 863; *Asin.* 712 ff.; *Pseud.* 736; *Rud.* 1284. *Luxuria* and *Inopia*: *Trin.* 8–9, the presentation to the audience being the same, regardless of whether or not Plautus’ creative talents were limited to finding Latin names for characters which appeared in Philemon’s *Thesauros*. *Auxilium*: *Cist.* 152–4. Parallels: *TYCHE* in Menander’s *Aspis* 148, who also delayed identifying herself (see Gomme and Sandbach (1973), 73–4) and *Agnoia* in his *Perikeiromene* 141; cf. *Mercury* in the *Amphitruo* (53 and 57). Interpretation of *Auxilium*: Feeney (1998), 90; Hanson (1959a), 78 reads a deeper religious significance into the character.

aedis te adduxi meas). Here, however, the ‘inversion’ of BONA FORTUNA is more than a theatrical invention of Labrax/Plautus, for an old altar to MALA FORTUNA did exist on the Esquiline.³⁷ Ergasilus, parasite in the *Captivi*, portrays himself to Hegio as a deity deserving sacrifice (and so food)—he first describes himself as *summus Iuppiter*, and then proclaims, ‘I am SALUS, FORTUNA, Light, Happiness, and Joy’ (*ego sum SALUS, FORTUNA, lux, laetitia, gaudium*), beginning his list with deities actually receiving cult and improvising on the same theme. Soon afterwards, he invokes another ‘divine’ concept for support, to prove he is telling the truth. In keeping with his ever-hungry character, however, he implores ‘holy stuffing’ (*sancta saturitas*). Plautus’ delight in jokes of this latter type often seems intrinsically linked to the word-play they permitted: Leonida, for example, wishes to make Libanus and Argyrippus ‘more delighted than Delight’ (*lubentiores... quam lubentias*). This aspect may well have been another reason for the prevalence in the plays of such humour, which Plautus employed with reference to divine and other qualities. Such a technique was, unsurprisingly, not unique to Plautus—a fragment of Naevius’ *Trabea*, preserved by Cicero, reads: ‘I shall outstrip FORTUNA herself in my fortunes’ (*FORTUNAM ipsam anteibo fortunis meis*).³⁸ Such verbal jests—which, as I have already suggested, are effective in condensing for the audience something of the role or mood of the character who utters them—are interesting as contemporary evidence of the lively interest in divine qualities in these years. For such ludic characters and utterances themselves engage with and ‘bounce off’ the exegetical tone of divine qualities, a tone imparted by the religious sphere of which they were part. By their representation as gods, *saturitas*, *suavisaviatio*, and the rest were momentarily and by association placed into this context—in order to give them a similar charge, this time in satirical vein.³⁹

³⁷ *Bacch.* 115–24; *Pers.* 514–16; *Rud.* 501. Altar: Cic. *Leg.* 2.28; cf. Plin. *HN* 2.16.

³⁸ *Capt.* 863–4, 877 (tr. by Nixon in Loeb edn), discussed in Ch. 1 above. *Asin.* 268. Plautine humour: *Pseud.* 669 (*opportunitas*), *Poen.* 846 (*ignavia*), *Cist.* 644 (*SALUS*); Naevius: Ribbeck (1898), 36 (Cic. *Tusc.* 4.67), with Fraenkel (1960), 13. Note also an unassigned frg. of Caecilius Statius (Isid. *Etym.* 10.40: ‘if you’re turning to Confidentialia, confide everything’ (*si confidentiam adhibes, confide omnia*). Leo (1960), ‘*Analecta Plautina*’, esp. II, is fundamental for many kinds of verbal play in Plautus and his contemporaries.

³⁹ Cf. *Juv.* 1.113–16 and *Plut. De fort. Rom.* 5, addressed in Ch. 7.

Hanson, discussing the ‘large group of abstract nouns, seriously and playfully deified at various points in the dialogue’, ascribes the number of occurrences of gods in Plautus to ‘editors’ policy on capitalization’ in respect of these. Anachronistic worries about ‘capitalization’, however, particularly for qualities that are known from other evidence to have been gods, distract from the real interest of divine qualities in these plays. PIETAS will provide a useful example. Hanson is himself cautious about citing as evidence for ‘real cult’ what he considers the single instance where PIETAS is ‘personalized and addressed as a semi-divine abstraction’—‘O my PIETAS’ (<O> PIETAS mea) in the *Curculio*. He prefers to understand Planesium to be apostrophizing one of her own virtues. Hellegouarc’h, on the other hand, is happy to see evidence of a ‘relatively popular cult’ in references to PIETAS in the *Asinaria* (‘—How could I be *pious* to PIETAS, if I, with my morals, could wish to please you, mother, in the ways that you instruct me? ... —Is it worshipping PIETAS to diminish a mother’s authority?’ *ubi piem PIETATEM, si istoc more moratam tibi postulem placere, mater, mihi quo pacto praecipis? ... hocine est PIETATEM colere, matris imperium minuere?*), and in the *Bacchides* (‘let me entreat you, my PIETAS’ *sine, mea PIETAS, te exorem*), as well as in the instance from the *Curculio* singled out by Hanson. Such attempts at demarcation merely highlight the artificiality of making a conscious effort to distinguish between the two, from the perspective of those writing or viewing the plays in Rome.⁴⁰ Plautine jokes cannot be used alone as evidence for cult. The interest lies not in making decisions about capitalization, but in observing the ways in which concepts first receiving cult or a temple in the city in the years during or shortly before which Plautus was working are explored in his plays.

The idea of P/piety (always filial) is played with three times in the *Pseudolus*, twice deliberately inverted for comic effect. After Pseudolus promises to attempt to procure the monies his young master Calidorus needs from Calidorus’ father, if necessary, Calidorus replies, ‘but, if possible, for the sake of PIETAS, or even [from] mother too!’ (*verum, si*

⁴⁰ Hanson (1959a), 61 (gods), 93 (PIETAS); *Curc.* 639; *Asin.* 506–9 (text and tr. disputed); *Bacch.* 1176; Hellegouarc’h (1972), 277 n. 1. Another clear case (or rather another case that is unclear in exemplary fashion) is *Amph.* 930 (PUDICITIA).

⁴⁴ Livy 40.34.4–5. If the battle of Thermopylae took place on c.24 April 191, the games, which are assigned to 10 April 191/0, and hence Plautus' composition of the *Pseudolus*, preceded it anyway. Once the dislocation is accounted for, it becomes clear that the games in fact took place on 1 December 192: see Briscoe (1981), 17–26 and 274–5 for the chronological problems.

Attempts to link plot devices in both the *Rudens* and the *Poenulus* to the debate and discussion surrounding the actual installation of Venus Erycina in two separate temples in Rome also require further attention from the perspective of PIETAS. Amatucci argued for a date of 184 for the *Rudens* on the grounds of the importance of Venus in the play, because temples to Venus Erycina and PIETAS were awaiting dedication in that year. He examined the friendship of Ampelisca and Palaestra in the play, and attempted to show that the issue of the two Venuses (the Capitoline Erycina dedicated by Fabius in 215 and the temple outside the Colline Gate vowed in 184) was thought about practically in Rome, rather than in philosophical dialogue, and that Plautus represented this discussion to his public through these contrasting characters in the *Rudens*.⁴⁵ Galinsky overstates Amatucci's argument in order to draw a clearer parallel with the (intrinsically stronger) case he wishes to make for the *Poenulus*. He claims that the Italian scholar had argued that the difference between the two girls 'reflects the *uota* of 184 B.C. that led to the building of temples to Pietas and Venus Erycina three years later'. In referring the *uota* (plural) to 184 (and in alluding to 'the decision to build a temple to Pietas as the companion shrine to that of Venus Erycina *ad Portam Collinam*') he misrepresents Amatucci's argument. The temple to PIETAS had been vowed, as noted above, in 191, long before that for the second Erycine temple, and they were not in physical proximity. Both temples were *dedicated* in 181, but to suggest that links were made between the Colline temple of Venus Erycina and that of PIETAS as early as the years from 184, when both temples were being awaited, requires a good deal of effort. Other factors suggest an earlier dating for the *Rudens*, in the last years of the third century BC. It would be more prudent to note again in this case, as in that of the *Pseudolus*, the importance of the different instantiations of this divine quality in the years of interest here.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Amatucci (1948) and (1950).

⁴⁶ Galinsky (1969), 360, 363. Date of the *Rudens*: Schutter (1952), 129–34 and Pouthier (1981), 171. Schilling (1954), 255–6, discussing the possibility of a reference to the Trojan legend in the vowing of a temple to PIETAS (references to Aeneas' piety to the gods not only in Virgil but already in Homer *Il.* 20. 298), more plausibly posits the possibility of conceptions of a unity between the two dating to 181 BC, when both were dedicated. Leach (1974), 925 n. 18 is aware of the difficulty posed by the dates, but also implies that the temple of PIETAS was located outside the *porta Collina*.

Galinsky sees a link between the awaited temples of Venus Erycina and of PIETAS and Plautus' *Poenulus*. He views the contrast between what he terms the 'matronly decency' of Adelphasium and the 'professionalism of a meretrix' of Anterastilis in the second scene of Act 1 as a reflection of the controversy between religious 'innovators' and 'traditionalists' in Rome with regard to the establishment of a second shrine to Venus Erycina outside the *porta Collina*.⁴⁷ The scene is probably an interpolation, inserted by Plautus. Believing that the topicality of this controversy provides the reason for the introduction of this scene, Galinsky reads the contrasting characters as a similar, but more clearly marked, example of the opposition in character delineation already referred to in the *Rudens*, and as a partial explanation of the prominence of PIETAS in the *Poenulus* as a whole. Once again, the evidence is not sufficiently strong (though more convincing than that in the *Rudens*) to be drawn upon in attempting to date the play precisely. It is, however, important to remember that a temple to PIETAS was either planned, or in the process of being built, in the Forum Holitorium in the 180s, whether these were the years in which the *Poenulus* was first staged, or whether the play was performed earlier.⁴⁸

Since PIETAS' prominence in the *Poenulus* as a whole and the (building of) the temple may well have been visible in the same years, the question of Hanno's PIETAS and its presentation, as well as Adelphasium's, becomes particularly intriguing. To appreciate the issues in the *Poenulus* more fully, let us contextualize how PIETAS (described by Konstan as 'a concept peculiarly Roman', for which one would be 'hard pressed to find a real Greek equivalent'⁴⁹) is presented more generally in Plautus and Terence. It is explored a number of times within the extant comic corpus, used of the sense of duty of children to parents, or of wives to husbands, and often inverted for comic effect. We have already seen one of the cases in the *Pseudolus*, where Calidorus inverts the notion of duty owed to both parents by insisting that both be duped for money, and then tells Ballio that

⁴⁷ Galinsky (1969), 361.

⁴⁸ The comments of Johnston (1980) on the play's date, discussed below, (independently) highlight potentially fascinating topical features, particularly if the play were staged after 191.

⁴⁹ Konstan (1983), 140.

PIETAS prevents him trying to swindle money out of his father. The usual meaning is easy enough to derive from the first case, and in the second Calidorus uses the vocabulary of an obedient son; only the previous line and context make it funny. Similarly, when Philocomasium in the *Miles Gloriosus* claims that not going to her mother when summoned would constitute *impietas*, the humour lies in the context, since the ‘messenger’ who purports to convey her to her mother is in fact her lover. In the *Pseudolus*, when Calidorus accuses Ballio of perjury (because the pimp had sworn to sell the girl Calidorus loves to no one but Calidorus himself and then renounced his oath), Ballio replies, ‘But I have put away money at home. *I* the scoundrel can draw on money from home, while you who are pious, from that grand family, don’t have a penny.’ (*At argentum intro condidi. / ego scelestus nunc argentum promere possum domo: / tu qui pius, istoc es genere gnatus, nummum non habes*).⁵⁰ His mocking picks up Calidorus’ earlier reference to PIETAS, placing money above it in importance. His assertion, to the effect that PIETAS doesn’t pay, is no comic inversion, and it is important to note that such an utterance is put into the mouth of a *leno* (pimp), who of course comes off worst at the end of the play.

PIETAS, then, is not a term used always in jest in Plautus. Philto commends his son Lysiteles for his PIETAS in the *Trinummus* in a speech full of appeal to *mores*, and in the *Stichus*, Panegyris’ sister declares her intention to do her duty (*officium*) because of her PIETAS to her husband. Bromia’s description of Alcmena as *pia* in the *Amphitruo* must denote at least in part Alcmena’s devotion to her husband, while Planesium’s appeal to PIETAS in the *Curculio* is also made in connection with loyalty to family, which she has shown to her lost brother. In Terence’s *Hecyra*, Pamphilus finds himself in a very delicate situation, torn between public appearances and private feelings, and between wife and mother—an opposition represented by *amor* and PIETAS, where the emphasis on PIETAS is always connected with parents. He declares, ‘PIETAS orders me... to bear wrongs from my mother’ (*matri’ ferre iniurias me... PIETAS iubet*), resolves, ‘I shall do what I can, but only as long as I honour PIETAS; for I should submit to my parent rather than to love/*amor*’ (*quod potero faciam, tamen ut*

⁵⁰ *Pseud.* 354–6.

PIETATEM colam; nam me parenti potius quam amori obsequi oportet), and reflects, 'now PIETAS urges me rather to consult my mother's pleasure' (*nunc me PIETAS matri potius commodum suadet sequi*).⁵¹

The term can also refer, in a similar variety of circumstances, to reverence for the gods. That this could be its meaning in the everyday world is shown by the banter in the *Casina*, when the lots are being drawn to decide who will marry the girl. As Chalinus asks for success and luck, Olympio counters that what is coming to him is rather a 'great misfortune' (*magnum malum*), since, he says, 'I know your PIETAS' (*novi PIETATEM tuam*), implying a lack or inversion of what would normally be understood by the term, in other words respect for the gods. Moreover, when Olympio is successful, and Lysidamus congratulates him, saying 'I rejoice, Olympio, that the gods have helped us' (*cum nos di iuvare...gaudeo*), Olympio replies, rubbing salt in Chalinus' wound, 'it was done through my PIETAS and that of my ancestors' (*PIETATE factum est mea atque maiorum meum*). Ballio is perhaps the character guilty of the most shocking verbal breach of PIETAS in this sense, too, when he claims that he would abandon an offering to Iuppiter midway through if a chance for money came along. Not only is he eventually thoroughly defeated, as expected, but in the line immediately following this declaration Pseudolus is made to assert, 'the very gods whom we should fear so very greatly he considers most insignificant' (*deos quidem, quos maxime aequom est metuere, eos minimi facit*). He draws attention to the lack of reverence for the gods that will in the end bring punishment to the pimp.⁵²

PIETAS could simultaneously evoke both the spheres so far discussed, as in Palaestra's musings, when she wonders whether finding herself on a foreign shore, shipwrecked, is what PIETAS has brought

⁵¹ Calidorus: *Pseud.* 291; *Trin.* 280 ff.; *Stich.* 8a; Bromia: *Amph.* 1086; *Curc.* 639–40, discussed above; Ter. *Hec.* 301, 447–9, and 481.

⁵² PIETAS towards the gods is indeed presented in the Plautine corpus, *contra* Grimal (1975), 491: *Cas.* 382, 383, 417–18, on the last of which see the references collected in Leigh (2004), 51 n. 126, esp. Dumont (1987b), 415 n. 705 on slaves boasting of their ancestors. On PIETAS in the *Rudens*, see Konstan (1983) and Dumont (1987a), esp. in terms of Daemones' attitude and the questions raised by the circumstances under which it is rewarded. *Pseud.* 269: a similar downfall awaits the *leno* of the *Rudens*, guilty of actually committing an impious act (breaking into Venus' shrine) rather than talking about doing so.

her, and specifying her willingness to suffer ‘if I have been impious towards parent or gods’ (*si erga parentem aut deos me impiavi*). At the end of the play, when all is resolved, and Daemones and Palaestra are reunited, Trachalio comments, ‘It’s delightful when this comes to you from your PIETAS’ (*volup est com istuc ex PIETATE vestra vobis contigit*). Daemones congratulates himself on his good fortune in finding his daughter with the words, ‘Isn’t it a fact that if the gods wish there to be a blessing on any man, by some arrangement that which is wished for falls to the lot of pious men’ (*satin si cui homini dei esse bene factum volunt / aliquo illud pacto optingit optatum piis?*). Such declarations take the spectator back to Arcturus’ prologue to the play, which had both referred to the gods monitoring the *PIETATEM et FIDEM* of men and exhorted the audience, ‘act with PIETAS and with FIDES’ (*agitis cum PIETATE et cum FIDE*).⁵³

The meanings of PIETAS and their centrality in relations between characters are thus clearly established in these plays. PIETAS is presented and reinforced as a normative value through these various engagements with it on the comic stage, both serious and inverted—loyalty to family, or the ‘safe’ Saturnalian duping of fathers by sons and of masters by slaves.⁵⁴ Characters are represented encountering difficulties, both comic and serious, when the different aspects of PIETAS cannot all be brought into line with their situation. Philaenium, for example, counters Cleareta’s demand for PIETAS (that is, submission to her authority as a mother) with the demands of a PIETAS requiring that ‘I neither blame [mothers] who act rightly, nor love those who do wrong’ (*neque quae recte faciunt culpo neque quae delinquent amo*). As a *lena*, Cleareta’s view of the world may be expected to conflict with that of other characters, including, in this play, her daughter—yet, as a mother, she expects her reading of PIETAS to be accepted, creating a problem for Philaenium. At the end of the play Argyrippus, obliged to watch his father disporting himself with Philaenium, proclaims himself *compelled* by PIETAS to

⁵³ *Rud.* 192, 1176, 1193–4, 11, 29. Fraenkel (1942) contextualizes Arcturus’ prologue.

⁵⁴ Cf. Dench (2005), 245, discussing the ‘sophisticated play’ with inversion of ‘Greek’ and ‘barbarian’ ethical characteristics in Greek tragedy; she does not consider it clear that the ‘force of these organizational categories is . . . undermined by such an exercise’.

submit uncomplainingly to this role-reversal: 'PIETAS, father, keeps the pain from my eyes' (*PIETAS, pater, oculis dolorem prohibet*). As an 'old man in love', Demaenetus may be expected to act against the 'norm' (or in accordance with the comic standard), but in his role as father he, too, draws upon one important meaning of PIETAS in order to secure the obedience of his child and enjoy an illicit evening with Philaenium.⁵⁵

These various engagements with PIETAS, its salience in staging scenes of 'everyday life' and in making explicit what was and was not acceptable behaviour in the comic world, allow us more usefully to explore the positions of Adelphasium and Hanno in terms of their presentation as Carthaginians in the *Poenulus*. Adelphasium, as we have seen, utters a speech in Act I.ii of the *Poenulus* about the cost and trouble of women that is presented to sound like the rants expected of a Megadorus or a Megaronides rather than a young woman. Gruen notes the 'special irony' attached to this speech, but believes it is unclear that Plautus intended to draw attention to the special relationship between Rome and Carthage, preferring to see the humour in Plautus' placing such a speech in the mouth of a *meretrix*.⁵⁶ It is impossible to believe that Plautus was unaware of the implications of such a decision. Hanno is rightly described by Hanson as one of the three characters, along with Alcmena and Palaestra, whose PIETAS is essential to the plot and dramatic development of the plays in which they feature, since 'he prays more consistently and sincerely than any other Plautine character'. He not only prays frequently, but twice refers to his own and his daughters' PIETAS (here indicating a devotion to each other—despite their separation—which has received divine approval), once in prayer to Iuppiter, and once while addressing his daughters. Adelphasium articulates her gratitude for his PIETAS, and her nurse, Giddensis, speaks of her pleasure in seeing its reward when father and daughters are reunited. Hanno is also, like his daughter, a Carthaginian (a fact to which attention is clearly drawn by the seven references to Carthage, Carthaginian, and Punic in the prologue), in a play put on in Rome at some point in the last years of, or the years after, the Second Punic War, at a time

⁵⁵ *Asin.* 510, with Hanson (1959a), 89–90; *Asin.* 831.

⁵⁶ Adelphasium: *Poen.* 210–31; Gruen (1990), 145–6 and n. 108.

when Ennius at least may be making reference in tragedies to Catonian and Scipionic victories in that war.⁵⁷

Plautus' decisions to adapt the *Καρχηδόνιος* of Alexis⁵⁸ and to retain the characters' origin, and his portrayal of Hanno in particular, cannot simply have been unconscious or accidental. They have given rise to very wide-ranging speculation—from those who believe, because of it, that the play simply cannot have been written during the Second Punic War to those who use the characterization of Hanno to illustrate the lack of xenophobia in Rome! More subtle readings rightly explore the intriguing mixture of negative and positive in the presentation of Hanno and of his *PIETAS*. They emphasize how excessively simplistic are clear-cut choices between ideas of a 'Punic' being pious as a source of laughter and notions that such a character suggests acceptance of 'acculturation'.⁵⁹ The assumption that *PIETAS* was a concept so illustrative of 'insiders' in the comedy (and hence for the audience) that 'even' a Carthaginian could be rendered acceptable by it, and hence become the hero of the play, requires nuance. *PIETAS*' tone certainly made it very valuable in framing questions for the audience, but it was not straightforwardly a quality so indubitably 'theirs' in the perception of audience members that it made a Carthaginian 'Roman' for them. It was rather a quality to which claim(s) had been laid in the city, in cult, in topography—claims like Glabrio's vow, whether or not that particular act pre-dated the *Poenulus*—and to which further claims were laid in this play. For all that they were 'fictional', the claims staged

⁵⁷ Hanson (1959a), 92; *Poen.* 1190, 1255, 1277, 1137; Plautus makes explicit reference to the Punic War in *Cist.* 197–202. Ennius: see below.

⁵⁸ Arnott (1996), 284–7 for the *Poenulus* as based on the *Καρχηδόνιος* of Alexis, not that of Menander, and 740–3, attributing to this play a fragment of Alexis whose play source is not named.

⁵⁹ Impossibility of a date during the Second Punic War (an assertion based primarily on the characterization of Hanno): Pansíeri (1997), 515 n. 4. Lack of xenophobia 'although the play was certainly produced within Hannibal's lifetime': Gratwick (1982), 94. More nuanced readings: Franko (1992), ch. 2 and esp. (1996) on the ambiguous nature of Hanno's *PIETAS*, and Leigh (2004), ch. 2 on *FIDES*, discussed further below. Hannibal's *PIETAS/FIDES* was similarly ambiguous in its (surviving) presentation in e.g. Polybius 3.11: he was said, after all, to have carried out the war in fulfilment of an *oath* which his *father* had made him swear. Prandi (1979) discusses perceptions of Carthaginian child sacrifice, a stereotype that no doubt heightened considerations of 'Punic' *PIETAS*.

in the *Poenulus*, in front of hundreds or thousands of people, were themselves very real engagements with *PIETAS*. They were very real elements in the interactions over *PIETAS* that together constituted the connection between ‘Romans’ and that (divine) quality.

When Hanno first comes on stage, he is by costume⁶⁰ and speech marked as an ‘outsider’. To an even greater extent than the parents discussed above, he draws upon *PIETAS*, in respect of both gods and family. It is indeed because of this, as well as through his knowledge of Roman law and through the suitability of what Milphio at least sees as his ‘Punic’ cunning for the circumstances of the plot, that he makes himself an ‘insider’. Franko, who reads the presentation of Hanno, like that of Aetolians excelling in *FIDES* in the *Captivi*, as an indication that ‘the Romans could accept the proposition that Punics too could be Romanized’, takes the identification of *PIETAS* and Roman as a given, calling *PIETAS* a ‘peculiarly Roman virtue with a religious significance’.⁶¹ The question of any putative Roman ‘monopoly’ of *PIETAS* should, however, as I have suggested, rather be seen as a source of (ongoing) debate, to which this play contributed.

Johnston has proposed a thought-provoking reading of Adelphus’s rant about the cost and trouble of women in I.ii in terms of the debate in 195 BC over the repeal of the *lex Oppia* in Rome, and the swift recovery of Carthage from the Second Punic War. The speech implies, on this reading, that, while Romans faced the threat of Antiochus, Carthaginians (on stage and in reality) were realizing the benefits of views in favour of stringency of the kind put forward by Cato in the Oppian debate (at least as articulated in Livy’s version of that speech).⁶² Her argument might profitably also be applied to Hanno’s *PIETAS* in the play. Without trying to assign a specific date to the *Poenulus*, Johnston points out that the later the date of the play, the greater the irony of Carthaginians appearing on stage—particularly if it were staged after 191, when the Carthaginians had offered to pay their reparations. Although the precise motivation for Glabrio’s vow

⁶⁰ Dench (2005), 275 has interesting points to make about the earliest contemporary attestation of Greeks as *palliati* coming from early Roman drama.

⁶¹ Franko (1992), 218. Although (134) he alludes to other mid-Republican temples to ‘virtues’, such as *FIDES*, *HONOS* and *VIRTUS*, *SPES*, and *CONCORDIA*, he fails to mention that a temple to *PIETAS* was awaited or under construction in the 180s.

⁶² Johnston (1980).

to build a temple to *PIETAS* is unknown, Livy, as we have seen, assigns it to the day of the battle against Antiochus at Thermopylae in 191.⁶³ Just as the restraint advocated by Adelphasium in her speech might have evoked Carthaginian success in what Livy's Cato had claimed to be necessary for Rome in sumptuary terms, so Hanno's *PIETAS* might, if performances of the play post-dated the vow, have called into question Glabrio's recent claim of *PIETAS* for himself and so for Rome. Performances, in other words, may have been *loci* in which questions of 'who has *PIETAS*' were aired, rather than simply occasions on which it was comfortably affirmed or comfortably inverted.

The companion temple to the *Capitoline Venus Erycina*, both topographically and by date of vow and dedication, was that of *MENS*, whose possible readings in opposition to another divine quality with a temple in the *area Capitolina*, namely *FIDES*, I discussed in the previous chapter. *MENS* itself occurs only infrequently in Plautus, and then usually in common expressions like 'to come to mind' (*venire in MENTEM*).⁶⁴ Simo's monologue when he realizes how Pseudolus has successfully carried out a promise, however, is worth exploring in this connection. Pseudolus has forewarned Simo that, 'you'll give me the money today with those very hands' (*istis mihi tu hodie manibus argentum dabis*), and the old man is incredulous: 'by Pollux he's a masterly mortal if he maintains *FIDES* [keeps his promise]' (*edepol mortalem graphicum, si servat FIDEM*).⁶⁵ When Pseudolus delivers, Simo comments:

*nunc mi certum est alio pacto Pseudolo insidias dare,
quam in aliis comoediis fit, ubi cum stimulis aut flagris
insidiantur: at ego iam intus promam viginti minas,
quas promisi si effecisset; obviam ei ultro deferam.
nimis illic mortalis doctus, nimis vorsutus, nimis malus;
superavit dolum Troianum atque Vlixem Pseudolus*

Now I've resolved to lay an ambush for Pseudolus in a different way from what happens in other comedies, where the ambush is laid with stakes and whips: inside, I shall bring out the twenty minas I promised if he managed it; I shall confer them upon him voluntarily.

⁶³ Livy 40.34.4–6 (n. 44 above).

⁶⁴ e.g. *Amph.* 710; *Aul.* 226, 228; *Bacch.* 130, 161; *Cas.* 379; *Merc.* 294; *Stich.* 703; *Trin.* 77. Exceptions include *Amph.* 1083 and *Cist.* 210.

⁶⁵ *Pseud.* 518 and 519.

He's such a clever man, so adroit, so mischievous;
*He's quite outclassed Ulysses and the Trojan trick, has Pseudolus.*⁶⁶

Leigh has explored an attractive way of contextualizing Plautine performances by reading the wily trickster of his comedies, so often presented as a military general (as at *Pseud.* 574–93), as a ‘typical Carthaginian’, based on perceptions of Hannibal. He suggests that the series of defeats suffered by the Romans in the Second Punic War provided room for the construction of the Carthaginians as the masters of the art of ambush, and the Romans as its victims, leaving the wily tricksters of Plautus’ plays (who recall the Hannibal of history, who himself recalls the wily slave of New Comedy) compulsively to replay these defeats, provoking laughter which may not have been entirely ‘comfortable’.⁶⁷ The profound worries over the outbreak of the Second Punic War, in terms of *FIDES* and the respect for treaties that this implied, would have made this issue of inevitable topicality in Plautus’ day. Leigh’s interpretation allows the plays to be understood as a contribution, through civic drama, to a positive connection between ‘Romans’ and *FIDES*. Such a contribution needs to be seen as part of discussion of events like the Saguntum episode at the beginning of the war. Plays like the *Poenulus* again form elements in an overarching dialogue about the nature of that connection: their contribution is, once again, not straightforward, for such clever slaves, disrespecting *FIDES*, are indubitably ‘insiders’ in the comic world. Cicero’s comparison (*Phil.* 6.6) of the senate’s warning to Antony not to attack Mutina with that to Hannibal not to approach Saguntum suggests, as Morstein-Marx notes, that Cicero expected a good number of those listening to this *contio* in 43 BC to be familiar with the Saguntum episode. It is, then, surely not unreasonable to suggest that those watching Plautus’ plays, including those from lower social strata, would be aware of such issues when the Saguntum episode was recent.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ *Pseud.* 1239–42, one of a number of instances of the vocabulary of ambush in the play, on which see Leigh (2004), 47–52.

⁶⁷ Leigh (2004), ch. 2, esp. 45–56, an exploration based particularly upon Hanno in the *Poenulus*, but whose conclusions are applied to the character-type more generally. Fundamental on the slave as hero, general, and *triumphator* is Fraenkel (1960), ch. 8.

⁶⁸ See further below on the Choragus’ speech in the *Curculio*. Morstein-Marx (2004), 76.

Leigh also remarks on the way that what had been seen as a vice in Hanno becomes a virtue when Hanno comes over to Milphio and Agorastocles' side, because Milphio (*Poen.* 1089 and 1108) expresses his admiration of Hanno by describing him as *subdolos* ('cunning'), having previously used the same adjective to describe the Carthaginian in terms and tone considerably less admiring (*Poen.* 1032). A similar case might be made for *MENS* in Rome. Brizzi, as we have seen, explained the introduction of a Trojan *MENS* into Rome—with the inception of state cult in the city in 215—as installing the quality necessary for defeating an enemy such as Hannibal, against whom Flaminius' traditional tactics (according to the 'rules' of *FIDES*) had failed.⁶⁹ Although Brizzi's analysis is flawed in actually subscribing to a highly over-simplistic view of 'the Romans' fighting according to the rules of *FIDES* up until the Hannibalic war, it is worth restating in terms of how fighting was *presented*. In his praise of Pseudolus, Simo not only explicitly compares his slave's trickery to Ulysses' strategy of the Trojan horse, as an exemplar of cunning. He himself, as a 'victim' of Pseudolus' trick, also uses the vocabulary of ambush (*insidias dare*) to describe the manner in which he will himself reward the slave—and in which such slaves are normally rewarded in comedies. There is no need to decide whether the wily slave 'stood for' Hannibal or rather for his defeat by tactics that may have been actively promoted (as acceptable at least against such an enemy) by those who finally defeated him,⁷⁰ which the foundation to *MENS* may have given opportunities for some to express. Both possible readings, in their partial conflict, exemplify some of the different ways in which plays produced in and around the Second Punic War and its aftermath might have been understood by contemporaries. Engagements with the ideas summarized by *FIDES*—and perhaps, by *MENS*—which were dramatized in such plays both constituted and provoked the kind of reflection on topical issues that in fact anchored these divine qualities in society.

Plautus' 'wily trickster' is most often a 'clever slave' (*servus callidus*).⁷¹ In terms of their actual content, the tricks played in the

⁶⁹ Leigh (2004), 36–7; Brizzi: see Ch. 2. Brizzi (1982) for the error; cf. Freyburger, discussed in Ch.1.

⁷⁰ e.g. Scipio's burning of Syphax's camp (*Polyb.* 14. 2–5).

⁷¹ But not exclusively: see McCarthy (2000), esp. 28–9 and chs. 2 and 3.

comedies, although echoing and contributing to debates on supra-civic issues, usually involved the defeat of a master by a slave. The actions of those in the comic world were also thus necessarily explored at the civic level. *FIDES*, whose temple on the Capitol in Rome was built not long after Plautus' birth, operated not only in the sphere of treaties, but also in this domain in which most of the comedies were ostensibly situated. Freyburger sees Strobilus' (attempted) theft of Euclio's gold from *FIDES*' very shrine (*sic*)⁷² as 'entirely symbolic' ('tout un symbole') of the way slaves behaved in Roman comedy and, in terms of devotion to *FIDES*, in Rome. There, he contends, slaves were not bound by the constraints of *FIDES* in the same way as free men were, except (in comedies at least) if they engaged themselves with their right hand (*dextera*). His argument, however, seriously underplays the Saturnalian theatricality of slaves being unfaithful to their masters, as well as disregarding the wider implications of the figure of the slave in comedy.⁷³ He also overlooks the fecundity, for 'everyday' negotiations of position and status, of those alternative readings of *FIDES* that he himself identifies, which were accessible through the divine quality whose grove features in one of the very scenes he is discussing. He rightly insists that comic value can only be supplied, in the scene with which I opened this chapter, if Euclio claims to have such excellent relations with 'the goddess of "Trust"' ('la déesse de la "Confiance"'), against whom he has so clearly sinned in all his previously observed actions, rather than with 'Good Faith' ('la Bonne Foi'). He claims, however, largely on the basis of this assertion of Euclio's, that we may suppose that 'the Romans considered Fides not only the goddess of Good Faith,

⁷² Freyburger is wrong to assert (1977: 118) and imply (1986: 241) that Strobilus succeeded in stealing the pot of gold from inside *FIDES*' shrine, as it was only from that of Silvanus that he managed to carry out the theft, outside the city and further away from his fellow men (Konstan (1983) and n. 2 above). The material point here, however, is Strobilus' willingness to *attempt* such a theft from the temple of *FIDES*.

⁷³ Freyburger (1977), 118, 125–6. He alludes to the Saturnalian aspect only once (119). Pansiéri (1997), 482 makes a similar criticism. Paegnium's remark (*Pers.* 193–4) on 'the *FIDES* of a master' (*FIDES erilis*), to be addressed more fully below, is based, as McCarthy (2000), 164 rightly points out, on the 'glaring differences between comedy... and real life, in which the master's promise to the slave is only as binding as the master wishes it to be'. Her account of the slave as representing the 'subordinate' element of all members of the audience is more insightful than Freyburger's interpretation.

but also of Trust' ('les Romains considéraient Fides non seulement comme la déesse de la Bonne Foi, mais encore comme celle de la Confiance'), and, on the basis of the *Casina* prologue, that 'Fides is more particularly the goddess of the "trust I obtain", of credit' ('Fides est plus particulièrement la déesse de la "confiance que j'obtiens", du "crédit"'). Despite their relatively broad scope, such definitions seem overly precise. It is more productive to observe how three aspects of FIDES are drawn upon in these three scenes by two characters and a prologue-speaker, with each aspect embodied by the divine quality. It is particularly revealing that two different aspects were drawn upon by Euclio and Strobilus in the same circumstances. Freyburger further claims that Plautus' emphasis on perfidy is absent from Molière's theatre, where 'no valet boasts of his perfidy', and hence that the distinction between the necessity of a free man in Plautus showing FIDES, while slaves vaunt their perfidy, must have a real basis in 'Roman mentality'.⁷⁴ Certainly it is only in Plautus that a slave expresses jubilation at his successful trickery by quipping, as Libanus does, 'let's have great praise and thanks, well deserved, for perfidy' (*perfidiae laudes gratiasque habemus merito magnas*),⁷⁵ but Freyburger's reading of the emphasis on the perfidiousness of slaves as an almost specular reflection of the 'Roman mentality' in regard to slaves remains flawed. As we have seen, even as comedies that do not seek to force very serious reflection upon those watching them, these plays do more than reflect or illustrate 'how the Romans thought about their society'. They contributed to the public dialogues that made that society, as elements in those dialogues. When Strobilus exhorts FIDES to be *fidelis* to him rather than to Euclio, he can in fact be seen legitimately to be claiming to be more deserving of FIDES' support than is Euclio. In a discussion articulated around FIDES and her shrine, the speeches to FIDES by the two characters address another set of questions, about what each character deserves, about social hierarchy, about slave and free. Molière's adaptation of the *Aulularia* may itself help to illustrate the point.

⁷⁴ Freyburger (1986), 239–41; (1977), 119. It is by considering the subject in such monolithic, totalizing terms that one risks overlooking the actual productivity of divine qualities like FIDES in Rome—which was not a homogeneous or abstract entity, but a city in which 'a collective entity of multiple statuses' (personal communication from P. Keegan) continually negotiated their position in society.

⁷⁵ *Asin.* 545.

La Flèche and Strobilus are of course far from identical: the former, for example, has no thought of keeping Harpagon's gold when he finds it, but hurries to give it to his master, Cléante. In this he fails to match his Plautine counterpart (while in fact resembling the majority of *servi callidi* in Plautus). When Harpagon demonstrates *his* complete lack of trust by demanding to see La Flèche's 'other hands', La Flèche cries 'Oh! how a man like that deserves what he fears! and how happy it would make me to steal from him!' ('Ah! qu'un homme comme cela mériterait bien ce qu'il craint! et que j'aurais de joie à le voler!'), and later tells Cléante that, although he is himself without 'particularly sinister inclinations' ('des inclinations fort patibulaires'), 'I'd think, in stealing from him [Harpagon], that I was doing a good deed' ('je croirais, en le volant, faire une action méritoire').⁷⁶ In other words, La Flèche defends his actions by seeing such a theft as justifiable: Harpagon deserves to be robbed, precisely because of the actions to which his excessive fear of being robbed leads him. In the *Aulularia*, Euclio claims support from TRUST, whom he does not trust, whereas Strobilus addresses FAITH with a plea to be faithful to him. Significantly, he does so immediately after his opening monologue, in which he has prided himself on being a 'good slave' (*servus frugi*), who *is faithful to his master* and does what is best for him. His essential motive for such obedience (and, here, for stealing the gold) is to win his freedom, as is the case with all 'good slaves' in Plautus. He is nonetheless able to justify what Freyburger views as a symbolically typical servile assault on the shrine of FIDES in terms which have a more solid basis than did those of Euclio, the male, adult citizen—at least based upon the audience's observation of the two characters' behaviour up to that point.⁷⁷ The scenes with which I opened this chapter, then, show that divine qualities like PIETAS and FIDES are not only benchmark values by which a man or woman's standing in, or belonging to, a community were measured, but also contestable values to which claim was laid, through which claims

⁷⁶ Molière *L'Avare* I.iii; II.i.

⁷⁷ *servus frugi*: *Aul.* 587. McCarthy (2000), esp. 26–8 has an interesting discussion of the 'good slave' v. the *servus callidus* and the different views of slavery and subordination which these might fulfil for audience members. Strobilus' claim is of course immediately undermined by his boast that he'll drink up himself any offering he makes to FIDES as a reward for her faithfulness (see n. 2 above).

were made about individuals and groups, and through which meaning and boundaries of hierarchies and communities were therefore questioned and (re)considered. The scripts of the plays considered here were part of dialogues that, by affirming *and* questioning the relationship between individuals and such qualities, forged the connections between such qualities and 'Romans'. FIDES' temple in Rome, or rather its theatrical replica, provided a space where such explorations were presented, as part of that dialogue, to a heterogeneous audience.⁷⁸

The actual spaces in the city where plays were staged, and the 'participation' in such plays of deities receiving cult in Rome, constitute further, important elements of the performance, given potential interdependencies between content and setting, between real and fictional landscapes, and between characters and spectators—particularly since plays were usually staged near a temple.⁷⁹ Although specific locations for the performance of particular plays are impossible to identify in the vast majority of cases, interlayering of civic and dramatic symbolism is clear from those examples for which a location is preserved or can be inferred. Deities receiving cult in the city are invoked in the initial or concluding lines of almost all the surviving prologues of Plautus' comedies that are not themselves

⁷⁸ Although the only example of a slave obeying his master in disinterested fashion, (nearly) at great cost to himself, namely Tyndarus in the *Captivi*, is complicated by the fact that the audience knows from the start that he is in fact freeborn and Hegio's son, so that the nature of servile FIDES is to some extent sidestepped in this play in which FIDES is such a key theme, those who 'break' or reinterpret FIDES are not always slaves or obvious 'outsiders' such as pimps and *lena*e. Philocomasium in the *Miles Gloriosus*, for example, promises (*do FIDEM*) that she will go into the house as Sceledrus demands, but does not, provoking Sceledrus' bitter comment: 'she's kept womanly FIDES' (*muliebri fecit FIDE*) (455–6). Paegnium in the *Persa*'s scathing remarks on 'pimp's FIDES' (*FIDES lenonia*) (244) may be equated, as McCarthy has shown (2000: 163–4), with those made by the same character on the 'FIDES of a master' (*FIDES erilis*), thereby suggesting that both are paradoxical, and that, in the real world at least, FIDES offered to a slave is more hollow than that of the typical slave in comedies. We must remember, though, that Strobilus' address to FIDES was unsuccessful, while Euclio's was answered.

⁷⁹ On the sites of plays see esp. Saunders (1913); Hanson (1959*b*), esp. 9–26; Rawson (1991), ch. 26; Duckworth (1994), 78–9, and Goldberg (1998). The link between dramatic productions and temples is most clearly shown by the staging of performances at temple inaugurations, such as those of the Magna Mater (191) and FORTUNA EQUESTRIS (173: Livy 42.10.5), on which see Hanson (1959*b*), 25–6.

delivered by (an actor representing) a deity. In these cases, however, a distinction between the world of comedy and that of the spectators is largely preserved: the *Poenulus* prologue concludes, 'farewell and support us, so that SALUS may keep you safe' (*valetate atque adiuuate, ut vos servet SALUS*), thereby associating with the protection of SALUS the spectators' (visible) appreciation of the play that was immediately to follow.⁸⁰ The *Casina* prologue opens with the words, 'I bid you greet FIDES, excellent spectators, esteeming FIDES highly as you do, and highly as FIDES esteems you' (*salvere iubeo spectatores optimos, / FIDEM qui facitis maxumi, et vos FIDES*) and solicits applause if he has spoken the truth.⁸¹ Freyburger identifies the benefit brought by FIDES to the spectators as the assurance of the suspension of financial activity during the games, as the prologue goes on to bid the audience drive out thoughts of debt and to reassure them that the *argentarii* ('bankers') too are at the games.⁸² FIDES, in other words, allowed the spectators to enjoy the performance of the *Casina* free from demands for repayment, since she operated within the civic realm and kept it suspended for the duration of the plays, while they enjoyed the separate comic world presented in the *ludi*. Given the importance of FIDES in the *Aulularia*, however, the scenes with Euclio and Strobilus examined above, which were presented on the stage as taking place in the grove of FIDES, involved a much greater degree of blurring of the civic and dramatic realms.

A different example of a comedy that explored values worshipped in the city through a blurring of real and fictional settings is the well-known and much discussed speech by the Choragus (462–86) in the *Curculio*, on the basis of which Moore has argued persuasively for

⁸⁰ For the purposes of this particular argument, it matters little whether these prologues were Plautine or later additions/alterations, provided they were performed in the city during the Republican period. *Asin.* 15 (Mars); *Truc.* 967 (Venus presiding over the play); *Poen.* 128. Given the importance of the city itself in the 'mental equipment' of its inhabitants (*Capt.* 815, *Ter. Ad.* 573–85, and Vasaly (1993), 35–6 for familiarity with landmarks), an appreciation of the 'physical' establishment of divine qualities in Rome adds an extra dimension to their role in the plays themselves.

⁸¹ *Cas.* 1–2. Pace Pansieri (1997), 600, Freyburger (1986), 241 n. 50 is right that we do not have sufficient evidence to prove F. Skutsch's attractive hypothesis that FIDES herself was the prologue speaker.

⁸² Freyburger (1986), 241 on ll. 23–5; for 'Credit' as another possible reading of the goddess, see further Ch. 6 n. 32.

this play having been staged in the Forum Romanum, on a stage just south of the Comitium, facing east.⁸³ He has successfully shown how the deliberate obliteration in the Choragus' harangue of all distinction between Epidaurus and Rome (an obliteration perhaps better thought of as the superimposition of Rome onto Epidaurus) would have forced the audience to recognize the applicability of the Epidaurian social landscape to Rome itself. He concludes that the emphasis in the speech on the 'wicked men' (*vitiosi*) and 'reprobates' (*improbi*), particularly those who deceive, at the expense of the 'upright men' (*probi*) and those 'without vice' (*sine vitio*), means that there was only one conclusion for the spectators to draw: 'lack of *fides* is as widespread in their own Rome as it is in Curculio's Epidaurus. . . . [E]ven with respect to the all-important Roman quality of *fides*, many in the very presence of the audience were no different from the *Graeculi* on stage'.⁸⁴ Yet again questions about 'who we are' raised in such plays pivot (implicitly or explicitly) around divine qualities, and yet again what is offered is by no means a simple affirmation of a positive link between the divine quality and those watching the play. The speech removes any comforting barrier of 'them' and 'us' that might otherwise have operated for the audience contemplating 'Greek' behaviour on stage, by successfully drawing links between actions and characters within the play, acted in Latin, and those watching the action, in the Forum Romanum. It squeezes the space between 'them' and 'us' almost to nothing: in this narrow gap, the location and associations of important concepts were probed.

Tantalizing surviving fragments of other comedies, together with extant titles, hint that other places also figured, along with a variety of

⁸³ Moore (1991); Coarelli (1983*b*: 138–60; 1985: ch. 1) for the area. With Moore, I consider most of the speech to be Plautine, and not a later insertion. His n. 2 gives a full bibliography on this particular debate; on v. 485 see his 358 and n. 51 and Leigh (2004), 17 n. 81. Given the usual connection of plays with temples, a performance on the Capitoline, overlooking the Forum where the Choragus' 'tour' was set, is another plausible performance location, a suggestion for which I am grateful to Andrew Lintott.

⁸⁴ Moore (1991), esp. 358–62 on the identification of stock Greek characters, such as the *miles gloriosus* and the *Curculio*'s Cappadox, Therapontigonous, and Lyco, with those usually found and those now spectating in the Forum, and on the Choragus probably including himself as one of the *garruli* speakers of *contumeliae*, if he stood *supra lacum*; quote at 362. See also Moore (1998), ch. 7.

locations in Greece and Asia Minor, as the context, both geographical and cognitive, for the airing of such issues. This is particularly true in Italy, where many of the plays under discussion may well also have been performed.⁸⁵ In the handful of fragments attributed to Naevius' *Tarentilla*, for example—a play that seems likely to have been about a 'girl from Tarentum', rather than a 'girl called Tarentilla'—we glimpse a character, very likely the prologue, discussing what '...I have proved here in the theatre by the applause I receive and that no king dares to break, namely how far slavery here is better than this *LIBERTAS*' (*quae ego in theatro hic meis probavi plausibus, ea non audere quemquam regem rumpere: quanto LIBERTATEM hanc hic superat servitus*). Fathers in the play are greeted, 'may you be safe and fortunate, you two fathers of us two' (*salvi et fortunati sitis duo duum nostrum patres*), and characters (probably the sons who gave that greeting) are instructed 'first that you return to *VIRTUS*, that you leave off idleness, that at home you honour your fathers and your native land, rather than shameful acts abroad' (*primum ad VIRTUTEM ut redeatis, abeatis ab ignavia, domi patres patriam ut colatis potius quam pereгри probra*).⁸⁶

Other areas of the city of Rome, by hosting *ludi scaenici*, must also have narrowed the space between the various 'Greeks' portrayed on stage and the audience watching the play, if in a slightly different fashion, and one receiving less explicit comment in the texts themselves. By 191, when the *ludi Megalenses* were first celebrated with theatrical games, the precinct of *VICTORIA* on the Palatine was home to the temples of *VICTORIA*, *VICTORIA VIRGO*, and the *Magna Mater*. Theatre is a well-documented activity in this area of the city. The *Magna Mater*'s statue, as we saw in Chapter 2, had been brought to Rome from Pessinus in 205/4 to help ensure victory against Hannibal, and had been lodged in the temple of *VICTORIA* during the construction of her own temple. This was finally completed and dedicated in April of 191, with the games during which the *Pseudolus*

⁸⁵ Rawson (1991), ch. 26 explores theatrical life in the Republic, with proper emphasis on various areas of what we call Italy; Dench (2005), esp. ch. 3 provides a timely and nuanced exploration of the importance of Italy in the construction of Roman identities.

⁸⁶ Ribbeck (1898), *Tarentilla* 1 (p. 22), 8 (p. 24), 12 (p. 25). A character in Naevius' *Agitoria* claims always to have valued *LIBERTAS* far above money (*pecunia*) (Ribbeck (1898), *Agitoria* 3 (p. 7)).

was staged (as was another play, which was at least in part about Quinta Claudia successfully escorting the Magna Mater to Rome in vindication of her *chastity*⁸⁷). Knowing that this area, which was filled with temples of deities connoting victory as well as cults linked to the mythical origins of Rome, was the site of such performances allows our spectators of varying status to be placed in a precise topographical context as they observe the wiles of the eponymous hero of the *Pseudolus*. When Ballio questioned Harpax as to the price his master paid for him, mistakenly believing him to be Pseudolus' stooge, and Harpax replied, 'through the VICTORIA of his strength in battle, for I was, at home in my native land, a very great commander' (*suarum in pugna virium VICTORIA. / nam ego eram domi imperator summus in patria mea*), his response will have been heard by those sitting on the steps of the temple of VICTORIA, creating a link between that temple and the VICTORIA of Polymachaeroplages evoked within the drama. The VICTORIA of a character or group at the end of this and other plays, whose possible readings in terms of supra-civic issues were discussed above, would thus have been performed within a precinct dedicated to VICTORIA and commemorating specific Roman victories.⁸⁸

The meshing of the civic and dramatic worlds could also be accomplished through the actual appearance on the stage of deities receiving cult in the city. In a passage of the *Amphitruo* prologue, 'Mercury' refuses to rehearse the benefits which he and Iuppiter have brought to the spectators 'as I have seen others in tragedies, Neptune, VIRTUS, VICTORIA, Mars, and Bellona recalling the good deeds they had done for you' (*ut alios in tragoediis / vidi, Neptunum VIRTUTEM VICTORIAM / Martem Bellonam, commemorare quae bona / vobis fecissent*).⁸⁹ Skutsch believes that such divine prologue figures may have 'served as a means of reconciling the audience to the wholly alien matter of Greek tragedy' and has sought to identify the passages

⁸⁷ Usually considered to be a *praetexta*, but see Wiseman (1999), 198 and (2002), 275, and Erskine (2001), 218. Terence's *Hecyra*, *Andria*, *Heauton Timorumenos*, and *Eunuchus* were performed at the same games in the 160s and hence in the same location.

⁸⁸ Harpax: *Pseud.* 1170–1. See n. 67 on military metaphors.

⁸⁹ *Amph.* 41–4 which, with Moore (1991), *pace* Mattingly (1960) and McDonnell (1990), I consider Plautine rather than a mid-second-century insertion. Galinsky (1966) offers a plausible reading of the *Amphitruo* prologue as a structural (Plautine)

in tragedy to which Mercury here refers. He has succeeded in finding attractive and plausible Ennian possibilities for Neptune and for VICTORIA.⁹⁰ He puts forward a convincing ‘guess’ in identifying VICTORIA, rather than Cassandra or Venus, as the prologue of Ennius’ *Alexander*, based upon the similarity of the fragment quoted in Festus (360M): ‘flying from heaven with garland and fillets’ (*volans de caelo cum corona et taeniis*) with Poseidon’s, ‘I, Poseidon, have come having left the salt depths of the Aegean sea’ (*Ἦκω λιπῶν Αἰγαίον ἀλμυρὸν βάθος/πόντου Ποσειδῶν*) in Euripides’ *Troades*. He supplies <venio... Victoria> after the Festus fragment, and sees the whole as the opening lines of VICTORIA’s prologue.⁹¹ The benefits of which Mercury spoke may have been Cato’s successes in Spain, which had prompted the erection of the shrine to VICTORIA VIRGO in 193. If this was indeed the case, and VICTORIA spoke the prologue of a tragedy staged at the dedication of this temple on the Palatine, it would be preferable to see such a prologue not so much ‘reconciling’ the audience to ‘alien’ content, as again providing a verbal and visual framework for the spectators. The framework, reinforced by the topographical anchor provided by the temple itself, was one through which contemporary contrasts and parallels with the material explored in the play might be considered.

FABULAE PRAETEXTAE

A similar prologue figure might have spoken when the exploits of a member of the community formed the theme of the play itself. ‘Serious drama on Roman historical subjects’, about which frustratingly little

whole, tying in the themes of VIRTUS and *ambitio* with the prominence of Scipio the Elder, as an example of Plautus ‘play[ing] with ideas that were in vogue at his time without wanting to hammer home a lesson’ (232).

⁹⁰ Skutsch (1968), 174–7 (quote at 174) plausibly suggests that the benefits conferred by Neptune, to which Mercury makes reference, are an allusion to Scipio’s dream before attacking Carthago Nova. Polyb. 10.11.7 and 10.14.12 recounts the dream and subsequent events.

⁹¹ Skutsch (1968), 175–7 for the full argument. Other divine prologue figures, in both New and Roman Comedy, including several ‘abstracts’—Plautine creations in the Roman case, otherwise unattested in the city—obey this tradition in identifying

is securely known, has long been a source of much speculation in terms of its influence on other literary genres, especially history.⁹² Whether or not we can or should speak of a 'genre', the existence of at least a small number of plays dealing with the recent or more distant past of members of society is incontrovertible, and the few surviving fragments of these plays suggest an emphasis upon the *patria* and the deeds of ancestors.⁹³

I wish to examine here not the many proposals made for potential new examples of these kinds of plays in surviving texts, but rather one type of occasion when Flower, sceptical about such examples, believes that such plays—in the narrower sense of those featuring a Roman magistrate—may have been performed: during *ludi* at the dedication of temples, explaining a vow taken by a general in battle, and recalling 'the circumstances of the promise, the *character of the general, and his relationship with the gods*'.⁹⁴ Wiseman, playing down Flower's emphasis on the situation of such plays in the 'competitive ethos of the republican aristocracy', broadens the implications of her proposal, rightly noting that any 'new temple was also a new cult, and

themselves verbally to the audience (see n. 36 above). Cato's successes: Livy 35.9.6; so Skutsch (1968), 177.

⁹² Quotation: P. G. M. Brown, *OCD*³ 585. Manuwald (2001) provides an exhaustive examination of a century and a half of scholarship on surviving fragments attributed to *praetextae*, but is overly tied to definitions in surviving literary texts, and unhelpfully divides religion and politics into two separate categories. Wiseman (1998a) is characteristically much less cautious, and more productive in his exploration of the kinds of drama that might have related to Rome. His ch. 1 summarizes and contextualizes scholarship on the possibilities of dramatic fiction as a source of history. Flower (1995), 170 criticizes attempts to fit fragments of plays into scenarios found in later historians, and to identify new titles and plots as 'risky and subjective... based on the desire to recover a lost genre, which modern scholars feel must or should have existed', a risk of which Wiseman (1998a), 3–4 is well aware. Ample bibliography in e.g. Manuwald (2000, 2001), Kragelund (2002).

⁹³ Problems of categorization are well discussed by Kragelund and Wiseman in Kragelund (2002) and by Zehnacker (1981), 37. Fragments emphasizing *res publica*: Ribbeck (1897), Naevius' *Clastidium* 2 (p. 321); Pacuvius' *Paulus* 1 (p. 325); Accius' *Decius* 4, 10, 11 (pp. 325–7).

⁹⁴ Flower (1995), quote from 190 (emphasis added). Flower's is a valuable contribution to the debate, although it does involve a certain amount of that creative and productive 'speculation', for which she criticizes Wiseman in the preceding pages (173–6) of her paper. Manuwald (2001), 110–19 addresses the plausibility of the kinds of occasion proposed for the staging of such plays, and is favourable to temple foundations.

the Roman people needed to know what the divinity had done to deserve it. "Teaching the people" is what Varro says the praetexta did.⁹⁵ He suggests that the scenarios, both farcical and tragic, which he sees lying behind Ovid's account of FORTUNA and Servius Tullius might have been created for 'theatrical games either on 11 June 212 BC, when the temple of Fortuna in the Forum Boarium was rededicated after the fire, or on 25 May 194 BC, the dedication date of the temple of Fortuna Populi Romani on the Quirinal'.⁹⁶

Fragments of only a handful of plays commonly described as *praetextae* have survived: Naevius' *Romulus* and *Clastidium*, Ennius' *Sabinae* and *Ambracia*, Pacuvius' *Paulus*, and Accius' *Decius* (or *Aeneadae*) and *Brutus*. It is possible, I think, to suggest one role, perhaps that of the prologue, in what is often considered the earliest such piece.⁹⁷ From the deities mentioned by Mercury in the *Amphitruo* prologue, Skutsch had no suggestion to make for a possible part for VIRTUS in dramatic productions of the time. That such a part really existed, however, is supported by the prevalence of allusions to older and contemporary works in Plautus' plays, as well as by Skutsch's success in putatively identifying two of Mercury's other four references. Zehnacker thinks *Amphitruo* 41–5 may well refer to *praetexta* tragedies, and I would suggest that it is indeed to Naevius' *Clastidium* that we should turn to find a possible part for VIRTUS.⁹⁸

The *Clastidium* was written by Naevius in celebration of the victory over the Insubres at Clastidium in Gaul in 222, where the commander and consul, M. Claudius Marcellus, won the *spolia opima* by killing the Insubrian king Viridumarus. In 205, Marcellus' son finally dedicated the temples to HONOS and VIRTUS that his father

⁹⁵ Wiseman (1998a), 15; maintaining *togata praetexta* from the earliest surviving manuscript of the Varronian passage (*Ling.* 6.18), on which see 8–9.

⁹⁶ Wiseman (1998a), 34, and ch. 3, *passim* on the plays.

⁹⁷ Zehnacker (1981), 37 points out that the attribution even of these titles to the genre of the *praetexta* is the result only of an increasingly established consensus amongst scholars. Cf. Wiseman (1998a), esp. 8–16.

⁹⁸ Allusions: Knapp (1919); Sedgwick (1927); Frank (1932b), I; Cèbe (1960); and see Zehnacker (1981), 34 and n. 10. Skutsch (1968), 174 considered the number of *praetextae* too small for Mercury's remark to apply exclusively to them, although he thought the divine prologue figure of New Comedy and its Roman adaptations 'may conceivably have begun with *praetextatae*', and allowed that Bellona might seem to best fit a *praetexta*. Certainly, the surviving accepted *praetextae* are too few for Mercury's remark to apply exclusively to them.

had vowed, seventeen years earlier, following this victory. Naevius' play is more likely to have been performed at the games presided over by Marcellus' son in 205, at the dedication of this temple, than at Marcellus' funeral.⁹⁹ I suggest that VIRTUS might have appeared, perhaps as a prologue, in the *Clastidium*, extolling Marcellus' actions, and that this may even be the appearance commented on by Plautus.¹⁰⁰ If the play served in part to illustrate why the divine quality was being given cult in Rome, and if—as seems plausible—the *Clastidium* featured some aspect of Marcellus' defeat of the Insubres, perhaps that of Viridumarus himself, then the stage might need to be seen as a space on which VIRTUS' introduction as a recipient of cult was explained, through the explicit identification, in the immediate context of the dedication of her temple, of VIRTUS' support with a victory over Gauls. The single fragment of more than one word now extant from the play, preserved in Varro, reads 'happy about a life unburied [i.e. having escaped death], he/it is returning to his [its/their] native land' (*vita insepulta laetus in patriam redux*). It is not inconceivable that these words, which could well refer to Marcellus himself, or his army, might have been spoken by the prologue, in my view possibly VIRTUS herself.¹⁰¹

Gruen favours an earlier date for the staging of the *Clastidium*, seeing no reason for its performance in 208 or 205 as a 'direct tribute' to Marcellus, and suggesting that Naevius could have put it on closer to 222, pointing to 'collective success rather than a celebration of the individual'. Gruen's reasoning is brought in to support his belief that

⁹⁹ Diomedes, Keil *GL* I 490 probably also refers to this play, in which 'Marcellus' featured. Temple dedication: Livy 27.25.7–9; 29.11.13 and Ch. 2 above. Flower (1995), 183–4 addresses the problems caused, in terms of ascribing such a play to funeral games, by the confused tradition surrounding Marcellus' death and the return of his body. Manuwald (2001), 136–8 has full details of all proposed contexts for the first performance. Bernstein (2000), 161, who thinks it more likely that the play was performed at public *ludi*, rightly notes that a performance at the dedication of HONOS and VIRTUS is not mentioned in the surviving tradition on the dedication.

¹⁰⁰ Such a hypothesis would not lose all validity even if the *Amphitruo* passage were a later interpolation.

¹⁰¹ Varro *Ling.* 9.78, discussed in detail by Lebek (2000), 81–2 and Manuwald (2001), 140–1, who notes that the speaker and subject could be one and the same (in which case it is most likely to be Marcellus himself or perhaps a soldier) or someone describing the situation if the (missing) predicate were in the first or third person respectively (see her 134–41 on the *Clastidium*).

Naevius was no mere *poeta cliens* ('client poet') of the Metelli, but rather a patriot, commemorating a 'major Roman triumph, not simply a personal accomplishment by Marcellus'.¹⁰² Such an argument requires the rejection of one possible implication of Cicero's assertion that 'it was displeasing to the early Romans that anyone alive be praised or blamed on stage' (*veteribus displicuisse Romanis vel laudari quemquam in scaena vivum hominem vel vituperari*), which would at first sight seem to argue for a performance date after Marcellus' death. It is true, however, that Cicero mentions no legal prohibition, and that the phrase could easily be understood to suggest that such praising and blaming occurred frequently.¹⁰³ No matter when and where the *Clastidium* was staged, however, the play must, in representing Marcellus' victory, of necessity on one level have lauded a 'Roman' success. If the first performance (or a performance) took place in 205, the explicit link with Marcellus and the Marcelli is strengthened, for it would have been staged in the context of games held by Marcellus' son, at the dedication of the temple vowed by Marcellus himself. It is precisely the mobilization of, and interactions with, resources at the individual and small group level, however, that contribute to overall perceptions about larger groups or about a community as a whole. Such a performance would therefore also strengthen the link between a 'Roman' victory and the introduction of the state cult of *VIRTUS* into the city. By illustrating the deity's support for Marcellus and his men in a play at the dedication of the temple to *HONOS* and *VIRTUS*, the divine qualities would have been presented to the audience as part of the community, while Marcellus was *simultaneously* set up as particularly linked to those deities, and so as particularly embodying the quality or qualities in question.¹⁰⁴ The association of play and temple in fact creates

¹⁰² Gruen (1990), 94; see also Bernstein (2000).

¹⁰³ Cic. *Rep.* 4.12 = August. *De civ. D.* 2.9. No legal prohibition: Gruen (1990), 94 n. 62 and others listed by Manuwald (2001), 122 n. 155 (and 121–3 on the question of the portrayal of contemporaries more broadly).

¹⁰⁴ See Ch. 2 above for Marcellus' appropriation of such qualities through this cult. Note that Propertius, in his elegy of the three winners of *spolia opima* of whom Marcellus was the third, described the first of them, Romulus, as *urbis VIRTUTISQUE parens* (4.10.17), a point I owe to John Rich. Cf. Cic. *de Rep.* 1.25 on Romulus. See Ch. 5 below on Varro *Ling.* 5.73 for another, very tentative, attribution of a line to this play.

a nexus of links to the community that would *not* have been present had the play been staged at the date favoured by Gruen, before the temple was dedicated. In a later work, when discussing the decoration of this same temple with art work from Syracuse, Gruen rightly notes the different levels on which the ‘message’ of the temple’s decoration could take effect: ‘The broader objective could coexist with the aim of self-advertisement. Adornment of the city coincided with augmentation of Marcellus’ glory.’¹⁰⁵ This point should apply as much to the play that I believe formed part of the dedicatory celebrations as to the ornamentation itself.

We cannot know whether the *Clastidium* was ever restaged,¹⁰⁶ although new performances of *praetextae* like Accius’ *Brutus* are attested, for reasons we shall explore further in Chapter 6, in the later years of the Republic. The survival of the *Clastidium* for later citation by Varro may perhaps in itself argue for some degree of dramatic success. Even a single staging must have broadened the audience to whom the exploration of Marcellus’, and the community’s, links with VIRTUS was presented. Through this play we may discern at least one instance of the illustration of a value—tentatively identified, not as a motivating theme of the play (though this may also have been the case), but as the very framework in which the play was staged—in celebration of the dedication of the temple of HONOS and VIRTUS. The play portrayed the exploits of one member of a community and perhaps, if my supposition is correct, allowed VIRTUS to explain to other members of that community why she had given him, and so them, her support.

Divine qualities introduced to, or already ‘residing’ in, Rome during the years in which Plautus was composing his comedies can be seen, then, to be presented and drawn upon in a variety of ways, in his plays and in others staged around the same time. Their prevalence in the Plautine corpus, together with that of other qualities who took on something of the exegetical charge or tone of divine qualities by being treated as gods, serves to throw into relief the lively preoccupation with these qualities in his time. Plautine characters engage

¹⁰⁵ Gruen (1992), 101.

¹⁰⁶ Manuwald (2001), 116 and n. 142 is right that theories such as the retention of the *Clastidium* by the Marcelli and its regular reperformance at funerals of family members cannot be proved.

with divine qualities in many ways—turning to them instinctively for help, thanking them for aid, identifying themselves directly with them, or inventing new companions for them appropriate to the situation of the moment or of the character involved. The heterogeneous audiences of Plautus' plays would have found themselves being addressed by Auxilium, laughing at slaves playing at being *SALUS* and *FORTUNA*, watching the wronged Alcmena protest her fidelity and prove her piety, sympathizing with Argyrippus as he submitted to *PIETAS* and obeyed his father's unwelcome commands, or observing the conflicting claims of Euclio and Strobilus for the support of *FIDES*. Those attending the games to inaugurate the temple of *HONOS* and *VIRTUS* might have seen *VIRTUS* lauding Marcellus and his men. The comic was nearly always at the forefront of Plautus' work, and he often presented his material in a way primarily designed to arouse laughter. He played with divine qualities and perhaps with the processes giving rise to their worship, mocking their growing abundance, but, as Hanson neatly points out of his treatment of the gods in general, Plautus, and therefore his audience(s), cannot be held guilty of ignoring them.¹⁰⁷ On the contrary, certain plays appear to reflect debates and issues raised about divine qualities to which temples had already been, or were being, built. In many of his plays and others discussed here, questions of 'who *we* are' are discussed through concepts receiving cult in Rome, whose tone gave them particular exegetical force for those thinking about the world, on a number of different levels. The presence of such temples did not simply create symbols in which all 'Romans' automatically recognized each other. It was through interactions and explorations such as those examined here that divine qualities were drawn upon and considered by different inhabitants or visitors to the city, by and in front of various audience members. The presence of 'lower' strata of society as both actors and especially audiences of dramatic

¹⁰⁷ Hanson (1959a), 100. Lind (1973), 118 n. 38 comments of Plautus and 'personifications' that '[Plautus] begins the attack on them which is taken up later by Pliny the Elder and the Christian writers'. If any comparison at all may fairly be made on this issue between Plautus and the likes of Pliny, Prudentius, Lactantius, or Augustine, it is simply that the preoccupation of each of these writers with divine qualities in widely disparate time periods may be said in each case to highlight a broader preoccupation with them, existing beyond each writer in question.

entertainment is suggestive in terms of the range of the statuses of those who might draw upon them. There appears no reason why such people should not have thought divine qualities directly relevant to them, both in 'everyday' terms and in terms of their understanding of the supra-civic issues discussed through these performances. This conclusion, if accepted, has important consequences for our understanding of the nature of Roman society.

Capitolizing on Divine Qualities

Ancient deities were elusive, many-sided beings, with various functions and aspects which did not necessarily coalesce into a single, theologically definable personality.

Meadows and Williams (2001), 48

CAPITOL AND FORUM

At some point during the last two decades of the second century, the temple of *FIDES*—a temple founded over a hundred years earlier, which had an important role in the *Aulularia*—was rededicated by M. Aemilius Scaurus. The same man was responsible for the rededication of the temple of *MENS*, which had first been founded after the battle of Trasimene and was situated, like that of *FIDES*, on the Capitoline hill. The precise date or dates of these refoundations cannot be established, for they are known only from brief references in Cicero and Plutarch. One possibility is a vow or vows in 115, the year of Scaurus' consulship, in which he campaigned in north Italy and triumphed *de Galleis Karneis*. Plutarch defines the Scaurus who dedicated the temple as having lived at the time of the Cimbric Wars. Strictly speaking, the Cimbric threat did not begin until 113 and Plutarch's reference has caused a certain amount of concern in assigning a vow to the campaigns of 115. The years between 115 and 99 were, however, characterized by apprehension of 'Celtic' or 'Gallic' threats and incursions, so 115 remains a possibility if one assumes a certain plausible conflation of Cimbri and Scordisci in

Plutarch's remark. Posidonius used the terms *Κελτοί* and *Γαλαταί* interchangeably and probably thought of the Cimbri as Celts. Cicero too described Cimbri and Teutones as 'Gauls'. Scaurus' censorship of 109 provides another suitable, although again unverifiable, opportunity for one or both dedications.¹

The situation in the last years of the second century in many ways resembled that after Trasimene, when the Sibylline books had first 'recommended' the introduction of a temple to MENS. Each period was marked by a fear of incursions by an enemy including 'Gauls'. A pair of Gauls and one of Greeks were sacrificed in the Forum Boarium, in 216 in the face of defeat by Carthaginians and Gauls, and in 114/13 in the face of a Gallic threat. Accusations against Vestal Virgins, who of course risked the same fate of burial alive, were made in the same years.² One potential consequence of installing MENS on the Capitol in the third century in proximity to FIDES might have been to make the kind of guerrilla tactics required against Hannibal appear as acceptable as those 'sanctioned by' FIDES.³ From this perspective it is interesting to note that both temples were rededicated by the same man in the years of interest here. We cannot be sure whether Scaurus' dedications were simultaneous or set apart by a number of years, but Cicero's phrasing certainly hints that they could be thought of together (*ut FIDES, ut MENS, quas in Capitolio dedicatas videmus proxime a M. Aemilio Scauro*; 'like FIDES and MENS whom/ which we see have been recently dedicated on the Capitol by M. Aemilius Scaurus').⁴

¹ Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.61; Plut. *De fort. Rom.* 5: *περὶ τὰ Κιμβρικά τοῖς χρόνοις γεγινώς*. This form of definition probably does suggest that the vow and/or dedication was made at the time of those wars, but does not allow a dedication in 107 to be deduced (pace e.g. Peter (1890–7), 2798–9) and Pouthier (1981), 188), since Scaurus did not hold a second consulship in that year (Klebs, *RE* 1 (1894), 587–8). Concern in assigning a vow to 115: e.g. Mello (1968), 100. Cimbri as Celts: Kidd (1988), 324; Cic. *Prov. cons.* 32. Williams (2001a), esp. 3–14, explores the implications of the use of the terms 'Celts' and 'Gauls' in ancient and modern writings.

² 114/13: Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 83; 216: Livy 22.57.4 (also in 228 in the face of a Gallic invasion: Dio Cass. fr. 47, Plut. *Marc.* 3, Oros. 4.13.3), with discussion in Beard, North, and Price (1998), i 80–2 and ii 158–9.

³ Brizzi (1994), with my discussion in Ch. 2.

⁴ This is true whether Cicero's use of *videmus* ('we see') indicates that the buildings were visible from the exhedra of Cotta's house (Rackham, Loeb edn. of Cicero *Nat. D.* (1951), 180–1), or whether the verb means that the temples could be seen in 'Balbus' mind's eye' (Pease (1958), 694).

Issues involving Gauls, human sacrifice, and Vestals might well have been perceived as connected with *FIDES*, as well as with *MENS*, in these years. In a speech delivered some fifty years after the rededications, Cicero discusses all these subjects and draws upon *FIDES* to make distinctions between Gauls and Romans. An important part of his defence of Fonteius in 69, on a charge of extortion connected to the latter's governorship of Gaul, consists of impugning the testimony of Gallic witnesses and of appealing to, or highlighting, the *FIDES* of the jurors and of the Roman people.⁵ Attacking the credibility of witnesses through claims about the lack of *FIDES* among the people from which they came was, of course, a defence strategy employed by Cicero in other trials and against other peoples (for instance against Sardinians, whom he equated with Phoenicians in his defence of Scaurus).⁶ Two passages from his defence of Fonteius are, however, particularly interesting. In the first, Cicero clearly invokes *FIDES* in the context of a Gallic threat. He claims that 'the Gauls' were responsible for the siege in 390 of the Capitol and of the temple of Iuppiter 'by whose name our ancestors wanted the *FIDES* of witnesses to be bound' (*cuius nomine maiores nostri vincitam testimoniorum FIDEM esse voluerunt*). Having linked Romans and *FIDES*, he goes on to undercut the idea of any such connection between *FIDES* and Gauls. He denigrates the Gauls' practice of human sacrifice and asks the jurors 'what *FIDES*, what *PIETAS* do you consider those men to have who think that even the immortal gods can be appeased very easily by men's crime and blood?' (*quali FIDE, quali PIETATE existimatis*

⁵ Cic. *Font.* e.g. 15, 23, 27, 30, 31, 40, and 46.

⁶ Cic. *Scaur.* esp. 38–45. It might be objected that Cicero's failure to mention the temples to *FIDES* and *MENS* in this speech, when he discusses the contributions of Scaurus' père and Scaurus' grandfather L. Metellus by pointing out visual *stimuli*, weakens this argument, since it seems to be a missed opportunity to draw upon these resources, which appear potentially so fruitful for Cicero's case (46 ff.: 'wherever not only (my) *MENS*, but even my eyes, turn, everywhere supplies me with abundant arguments to put forward for Marcus Scaurus': *undique mihi suppeditat, quod pro M. Scauro dicam, quocumque non modo MENS, verum etiam oculi inciderunt*). So much of the speech is missing, however, that we cannot be certain that Cicero did not allude to them. All the buildings to which he does refer appear, on the other hand, to be *actually* visible to his audience (Curia, temple of Castor, Capitolium, temple of Vesta). While the Capitolium would have been visible from the Forum, the temples of *FIDES* and *MENS* in the south-west part of the *area Capitolina* would not. Cf. Morstein-Marx (2004), 259.

esse eos, qui etiam deos immortalis arbitrentur hominum scelere et sanguine facillime posse placari?).⁷ In the second passage, Cicero describes the actions of Fonteius' sister, a Vestal Virgin. Calling Indutiomarus 'the leader of the Allobroges and of the rest of the Gauls' (*dux Allobrogum ceterorumque Gallorum*), he asks whether the jurors would do nothing to prevent this Gallic leader from tearing Fonteius from his mother's arms, 'especially when on the other side a Vestal Virgin is holding her own brother in an embrace and invoking with tears the FIDES of the Roman people and yours, jurors' (*praesertim cum virgo Vestalis ex altera parte germanum fratrem complexa teneat vestramque, iudices, ac POPULI ROMANI FIDEM imploret*).⁸ In his attempt to sever all 'the Gauls' from FIDES, then, Cicero invokes both a practice and a subject relevant to the era of the late-second-century restorations in which we are interested. He himself refers to human sacrifice as a practice allegedly regular among Gauls. At the time of the temple restorations, however, as we have seen, the sacrifice of humans had been carried out in Rome itself, *against Gauls*: two of the sacrificial victims were Gauls and the sacrifice, moreover, appears to have been intended to avert a perceived 'Gallic' threat. Cicero also makes much of a Vestal Virgin's appeal to FIDES POPULI ROMANI—and accusations against Vestals, too, seem to have been connected to the human sacrifices carried out in Rome both in the late second century and on the other two occasions when such a sacrifice had been made in the city.⁹ Scaurus' decision to refund both temples on the Capitoline might therefore have reflected or reinforced the importance of both MENS and FIDES in the face of (Gallic) threats.

Scaurus, *princeps senatus* for twenty-five years, was not the only traditionalist to pay attention to the monuments of the Capitol and Forum in the latter years of the second century. Nor was he alone in concentrating this attention upon divine qualities. The Capitoline and Forum were reshaped in these years, not only through FIDES and MENS, but also through other 'words' in the cognitive vocabulary under examination in this book: CONCORDIA, HONOS, VIRTUS,

⁷ Cic. *Font.* 30–1. Williams (2001a), 170–82 has an excellent discussion on Roman fear of Gauls and the relation of this fear to accounts of the sack.

⁸ Cic. *Font.* 46.

⁹ Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 83, with Williams (2001a), 173–5 and Beard, North, and Price (1998).

VICTORIA, and possibly OPS.¹⁰ Attempts to claim or reclaim the Capitol were made by some considering themselves *optimates* and contested by others. In the later decades of the second century, from the 130s, numismatic imagery also became much more varied: the coin-field was a resource mobilized in new ways. An important study by Meadows and Williams suggests that this flowering of commemorative, numismatic imagery was connected to—or, more precisely, was validated by—MONETA, another divine quality installed on the Capitoline hill. Exciting new discoveries on the Arx are changing our perceptions of this *area sacra*, and suggesting that as a space it was densely built upon, and inhabited from the Republican period onwards.¹¹ These discoveries do not detract from the special place of the Capitoline in the Roman religious system; on the contrary, a greater variety of uses of the space only increases the number of associations available to be made and of people potentially able to draw on the cults on that hill. The new uses made of the coin-field for a more varied range of commemorative claims can be productively examined in the broader context of these years, in which the resonance of certain elements in the intellectual cult complex on the Capitoline was also renewed.

After the murder of Gaius Gracchus and some 3,000 of his supporters in 121, L. Opimius, the consul responsible for the deaths, had a temple to CONCORDIA and the *basilica Opimia* built (or rebuilt).¹² Situated in a highly visible and much frequented location in the north-west part of the Forum, on the lower slopes of the Capitoline, one or both of these structures were described by Cicero in his *pro Sestio* as Opimius' 'most frequented monument' (*monumentum celeberrimum*). Cicero's wording suggests that the *monumentum celeberrimum* could still be thought of as connected to Opimius by those coming into contact with it sixty years later. Centuries later still, in

¹⁰ On Scaurus see Bates (1986), although he does not mention the temples. The uncertainties surrounding the founder and date of foundation of the temple of OPS on the Capitol make it impossible to assume the involvement of L. Metellus Delmaticus (consul in 119, and Scaurus' son-in-law) in its (re)foundation, and so we cannot be sure that it was (re)founded in these years. See App. 4.

¹¹ Tucci (2006) for the imperial Iseum and a *domus*, part of which is of Republican date; Tucci (2005) for the location of the temple of MONETA, on which see n. 50.

¹² Ch. 2 n. 82 for the possibility of an earlier foundation in this location, attributed by the tradition to Camillus.

his discussion of divine CONCORDIA, Augustine still emphasizes the deliberate positioning of this temple to CONCORDIA 'in the very place where that fatal rising took place' (*eo ipso loco, ubi funereus tumultus ille commissus est*).¹³ Whether it was a foundation or refoundation, and whether the initiative lay with Opimius or the senate,¹⁴ the gesture was a highly conspicuous one. Richardson's claim that Opimius 'may have tried to take some of the sting' from having the temple built by putting up the basilica is highly implausible.¹⁵ Although the basilica's exact location is uncertain, and particularly problematic because of the apparent lack of space beside the Opimian temple, Purcell's suggestion that it may in fact be the porticoed façade of the so-called 'Tabularium', and hence a natural and *highly visible* extension of the temple of CONCORDIA, deserves serious consideration, especially since the foundation of the temple interlocks with the platform of the 'Tabularium'.¹⁶ For those to whom the death of Gaius Gracchus signified something quite other than 'CONCORDIA', any additional foundation in the Forum by Opimius, far from 'taking the sting' from his actions, would surely have served only to extend the space in which monumental insult was added to mortal injury.

The columns of the Opimian temple were made up of several superimposed blocks of stuccoed travertine, and constitute the earliest known use of this stone in public building in Rome.¹⁷ Although Pouthier is right to think of new methods and materials as incentives for the late-second-century restorations, he fails to distinguish the potential significance of the introduction of travertine and harder tufas in the 120s from that of earlier uses of Greek marble in the 140s, in the replacement or facing of more friable tufas as building material.¹⁸ It is important to consider what is known of the physical appearance of these temples more broadly. As well as the introduction of travertine, the years immediately after the Gracchan crises appear

¹³ Cic. *Sest.* 140; August. *De civ. D.* 3.25.

¹⁴ App. *B Civ.* 1.26 claims that the senate instructed Opimius to have the temple erected; August. *De civ. D.* 3.25 also refers to a *senatus consultum*; Plut. *C Gracch.* 17.6 implies that Opimius alone was responsible.

¹⁵ Richardson (1978a), 263.

¹⁶ Purcell (1989), 161, a hypothesis I find more plausible than that of Hafner (1984), who argues for the basilica being the very *cella* of the temple of CONCORDIA.

¹⁷ Ferroni (1993), 320.

¹⁸ Pouthier (1981), 184–9.

to have seen a break in the enthusiasm shown by certain *imperatores* of the mid-second century for 'Greek-style' constructions in Pentelic marble.¹⁹ The temple of CONCORDIA, whose plan has been worked out by analysis of the conglomerate used in the Tiberian podium, was of 'traditional' Italic appearance: rectangular, on a high podium, fronting towards the Forum, octastyle, peripteral *sine postico*, with *cella* and pronaos in two: one proportion. These apparently deliberate choices not to use new marbles and to return to a podium temple were not only found in Opimius' foundation to CONCORDIA. They were made for the other two temples known to have been constructed or reconstructed in these years by men reacting against change in other fields in Rome: those of Castor in the Forum and of the Magna Mater on the Palatine. Although there may well have been individual reasons for the form of each of these three, the return to a more 'traditional' style may in part reflect a shared reaction against, or suspicion of, the importation of new materials and styles. Such suspicion can be linked, for example, with ongoing concerns over the arrival in Rome of rich *spolia*, and even with issues like Tiberius Gracchus' connections with Blossius of Cumae and their influence upon his agrarian proposals. As such, these edifices should be seen as parts of a wider debate about the suitability of various newly prominent elements in Rome, in fields ranging from architecture to oratory.²⁰

The presentation of Marius in later sources (as early as Sallust) as a vigorous avoider of things 'Greek', or at least of the Greek language, of course forms part of this ongoing debate, rather than giving us unmediated insight into Marius' self-presentation during his lifetime.²¹ Marius' own presentation is particularly difficult to discern,

¹⁹ On this and generally on what follows, see Gros (1976). Recent attempts to date the *tholos* of the Forum Boarium to the mid-second century make the break with the earlier constructions even clearer than in Gros's paper. The earlier constructions would then include this temple of Pentelic marble dedicated to a Hercules (Victor/Olivarius' according to Coarelli (1988), 92–103, 180–204; L. Mummius Achaicus' temple to Hercules, according to Ziolkowski (1988)), as well as the peripteral temple in Pentelic marble of Iuppiter Stator, by Hermodorus of Salamis.

²⁰ Erskine (1990), 161–7, esp. 166–7 on Blossius. The bibliography on questions of perceived and projected 'philhellenism' and 'hellenization' in Republican Rome is of course vast. Wallace-Hadrill (1998*b*) and Dench (2005) make particularly useful contributions.

²¹ Sall. *Iug.* 63.3 and 85 esp. 31–2: 'My words are not well ordered; I care little about that. VIRTUS shows itself/herself off sufficiently. . . . Nor have I learned Greek;

given the many autobiographical accounts written by his opponents, which survived to be drawn upon by and to dominate the accounts of later writers. Most notable among these were Sulla's twenty-two books of memoirs, but M. Aemilius Scaurus, P. Rutilius Rufus, and Q. Lutatius Catulus also wrote about themselves.²² Marius' temple to HONOS and VIRTUS, vowed during the Cimbric campaign of 102 or 101, which he fought alongside Catulus, is of particular interest in that it may allow us to draw tentative conclusions about messages Marius himself was trying to convey. Although no trace of the temple remains, and its appearance and construction materials are first described for us in a text moulding Roman cultural identity in the Augustan period (Vitruvius' *de Architectura*), there are some suggestive points in the description:

[A temple] will be peripteral that has six columns in front and six at the rear, with eleven along the sides including the corners. But the columns are to be placed so as to leave a gap all around, the width of one intercolumniation, between the walls and the outer row of columns, and thus there will be a walkway around the temple's *cella*, in the manner of the temple of Iuppiter Stator by Hermodorus in the *porticus* of Metellus and the Marian temple of HONOS and VIRTUS constructed by Mucius, without rear portico.

*Peripteros autem erit, quae habebit in fronte et postico senas columnas, in lateribus cum angularibus undenas. Ita autem sint hae columnae conlocatae ut intercolumnii latitudinis intervallum sit a parietibus circum ad extremos ordines columnarum, habeatque ambulationem circa cellam aedis, quemadmodum est in porticu Metelli Iovis Statoris Hermodori et ad Mariana HONORIS et VIRTUTIS, sine postico a Mucio facta.*²³

I had little desire to learn it, since it had in no way helped the VIRTUS of those who teach it' (*Non sunt composita verba mea; parvi id facio. Ipsa se VIRTUS satis ostendit. . . . Neque litteras Graecas didici; parum placebat eas discere, quippe quae ad VIRTUTEM doctoribus nihil profuerant*). The first of these claims is, of course, belied in Sallust by the composition of the very speech in which it is uttered. The second can also be questioned, as it can in the case of the Elder Cato. It remains a distinct possibility, nonetheless, that Marius did couch his claims in terms resembling these. See also Val. Max. 2.2.3; Plut. *Mar.* 2.

²² Peter, *HRR* i 185–90.

²³ Vit. 3.2.5. Although attempts have been made to amend the words *ad Mariana* at 3.2.5 either to *aedis Mariana* or simply *Mariana* (the latter on the basis of 7 *praef.* 17), the reading *ad Mariana* has plausibly been retained by a number of scholars, notably Gros (1973), 138 and n. 2, as a topographical indicator comparable to *in porticu Metelli*.

Like that of Opimius, the temple would appear to have been of Italic plan, peripteral *sine postico*, and built from local materials. Vitruvius laments in the preface to his seventh book that the temple was *not built of marble*, which, he claims, is all that prevented it from being numbered among the greatest works. He here draws attention to a difference between Marius' temple and that of Metellus and others like it, which does again seem likely to have been a deliberate choice. Marius' selection of a Roman architect (the first attested example, with Cossutius, of a Roman architect of some renown) may have been part, as Gros suggests, of the same polemic.²⁴ It was at least open to interpretation as such. It is likely that the play made with VIRTUS (and, to a lesser extent, with HONOS/HONORES) in the famous speech put into Marius' mouth by Sallust, for example, does reflect something of what Marius himself said on that occasion, as well as developing important Sallustian, themes.²⁵ If not, actions like having the temple to HONOS and VIRTUS built (and no doubt other acts that no longer survive for us) will have been among the triggers for the later presentation.

The temple's location is uncertain. It was long thought to be on the Arx, because of Festus' comment that 'Gaius Marius made his temple of HONOS and VIRTUS lower than the others, lest, if by chance it obstructed the public auspices, the augurs would require it to be demolished' (*summissiorem aliis aedem HONORIS et VIRTUTIS C. Marius fecit, ne, si forte officeret auspiciis publicis, augures eam demoliri cogerent*).²⁶ Richardson, however, has now argued persuasively for its placement rather on the axis of the augural *spectio* (observation of the auspices). His own consequent solution, namely a location on the site of the later temple to *divus* Antoninus and Faustina, is less convincing than Coarelli's proposal of the more elevated site of Hadrian's later double temple of Venus and Roma, also on the Velia.²⁷ A key point of interest in either of these two locations on the augural *spectio* towards *mons Albanus*, which coincided in this early part with the *via sacra*, is

²⁴ Vit. 7 *praef.* 17, Gros (1976), 407–8.

²⁵ Sall. *Iug.* 85. VIRTUS occurs eight times in the speech, HONOS and HONORES twice each. Earl (1961 and 1967) provides detailed, though sometimes overly emphatic, treatment of VIRTUS in Sallust.

²⁶ Festus 466L.

²⁷ Richardson (1978b); Coarelli (1983b), 103 and n. 29.

the temple's proximity to the Forum, which is further suggested by the senate's meeting there to consider the question of Cicero's recall. This in turn implies that the temple was located near the house that, according to Plutarch, Marius had built near the Forum in 98.²⁸ The exact degree of proximity of temple and house is naturally impossible to estimate, since the precise location of each is unknown. Richardson believes, on the basis of textual references to *monumenta Mariana* ('Marian monuments'), that the temple was part of a wider complex, including a shrine to FEBRIS and the site of the house of the Aelii, to which the house might be added, in explanation of the unusual term *Mariana*.²⁹ If this was the case, Marius went a step beyond Opimius' juxtaposition or combination of temple and basilica. He anticipated the actions of Pompey, in establishing shrines of HONOS and VIRTUS near his house, and those of Caesar, in placing his domicile in the Forum, near a temple which he had founded. This potential physical proximity, together with the attested description of the temple as *monumentum Mari* ('Marius' monument') suggests an attempt to tie HONOS and VIRTUS closely to Marius, and hence to close off certain interpretative possibilities. As we shall see in a later chapter, however, this did not prevent the temple being drawn upon by individuals in connection with events that occurred after Marius' death—events both connected and unconnected to Marius himself.³⁰

In choosing HONOS and VIRTUS, Marius must have been aware of Marcellus' earlier foundation by the *porta Capena*. His choice may partly have been connected to resemblances between the two men, such as their defeat of Gauls and their numerous consulships. Direct

²⁸ Senate meeting: Cic. *Sest.* 116; *Planc.* 78; *Div.* 1.59; Richardson (1978b), 242. House: Plut. *Mar.* 32.1.

²⁹ Richardson (1978b), 242–3 and 245, based on Val. Max. 2.5.6 (*in area Marianorum monumentorum*); 4.4.8 (*Mariana monumenta*). The *monumentum ipsius* of Val. Max. 1.7.5 (referring to Cicero's dream) clearly does refer to the temple, and Cicero himself calls the temple Marius' *monumentum* (*Div.* 1.59: *monumento Mari*; *Sest.* 116: *Gaique Mari... monumentum*; *Planc.* 78: *monumento Mari*), while Vitruvius, if the reading *ad Mariana* is to be retained (see n. 23), might refer to a complex. Platner and Ashby (1929), 259–60 distinguish between singular and plural uses of *monumentum*, assigning the latter (Val. Max. 6.9.14) to trophies. This distinction, as Palombi (1996b), 34 rightly points out, may be drawn 'with too much rigour', but the very wide semantic range of *monumentum* makes any decision on this point impossible.

³⁰ e.g. Cicero's reference to the temple in which his recall was decreed, and his dream that Marius had led him to it (Val. Max. 1.7.5, with Ch. 5 n. 30).

influence by Marius' legate, P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, a descendant of Marcellus, has been posited in this respect.³¹ It has even been suggested that both were in some sense *novi homines* ('new men'): Marius in reality, Marcellus in terms of the inferiority of his ancestors compared to those of the Fabii or Scipiones, but in the case of Marcellus this stretches credulity.³² What is particularly important is that one cannot declare Marius' choice of these divine qualities dependent on one reading only of *HONOS* and *VIRTUS*, 'political' or 'military'. Bonnefond-Coudry, for example, sees the temple as a sign of Marius' political success, and *not* of his military victory, which was in her view the 'simple condition of that success', and was represented by the trophies on the Capitol. McDonnell, conversely, denies that Marius' temple was designed to glorify his status as a new man. This denial is consonant with McDonnell's insistence upon the strictly martial association of cultic *VIRTUS*, but he adduces no evidence (nor could he) to show that one reading only was uppermost in Marius' mind in dedicating the temple, or prevailed among those later involved with the building. He is right that each individual associated with a cult of *VIRTUS* attempted to break traditional aristocratic restrictions by emphasizing his extraordinary military prowess, but this argument does not and cannot exclude the temple's connection with Marius' 'political' status.³³

The Marian temple needs to be considered not only in terms of recent temple building and cultic antecedents, but also in the light of another contemporary temple to a divine quality, in a different part of the city. Two hundred years after Bubulcus Brutus and Papirius Cursor are said to have struggled with each other for victory over the Samnites, Marius and Q. Lutatius Catulus clashed over responsibility for the Cimbric victory of 101. Despite their joint triumph,

³¹ Richardson (1978*b*), 245 goes too far in suggesting the possibility that Marcellinus might have suggested the idea to Marius *by his very minting* of extant coins featuring the pair (*RRC* 329 and Sydenham (1952), no. 604, which Crawford and Sydenham identify not as *HONOS* and *VIRTUS* but as Roma and the Genius, whose iconography is virtually indistinguishable). He appears to forget that forms of communication existed that leave no literary or archaeological trace!

³² e.g. Gros (1979), 104, on which see the justified criticisms of McDonnell (1990), 409. Wiseman (1971), 111 suggests that the dedication was largely in emulation of Fabius Maximus and Scipio Aemilianus (*sic*) 'but perhaps not without a suggestion of the energy characteristic of the new man', cf. Gros (1979), 106 n. 1.

³³ Bonnefond-Coudry (1989), 125–6; McDonnell (1990), 420, 413.

antagonism is reflected in the historical tradition (again hostile to Marius), which preserves clear traces of conflicting accounts. A version ascribed both to Sulla, who fought under Catulus, and to Catulus himself, claims that Marius placed his troops on the wings and those of Catulus in the centre, expecting his men to face the heaviest fighting and therefore hoping to claim all the credit for the victory. This expectation was confounded.³⁴ Both commanders subsequently founded a temple. Catulus' to FORTUNA HUIUSCE DIEI is mentioned by Plutarch in the context of the battle itself, in direct opposition to a vow to the gods made by Marius to sacrifice a hecatomb. The Aretine *elogium* of Marius, however, claims that he had the temple to HONOS and VIRTUS built from the spoils of his victories from the wars with the Cimbri and Teutones.³⁵ Even if the vow had been made in an earlier campaign, the temple must have been built after the victory near Vercellae, and hence at around the same time as that of Catulus. McDonnell argues convincingly, moreover, that the vague reference to Marius' vow of a hecatomb is to be attributed to 'Plutarch's optimate source' and that the vow was to HONOS and VIRTUS. He attributes to Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus a speech *de ducendis uxoribus* ('on taking a wife') delivered at the time of Marius' dedication. A 'fragment' of this speech, preserved in Gellius, ends *di immortales VIRTUTEM adprobare, non adhibere debent* ('the immortal gods should approve VIRTUS, not bestow it'), and McDonnell argues persuasively for this to be seen in the context of views of the contested victory at Vercellae. Marius' claim to have gained victory through VIRTUS was contested both in itself and in terms of the 'meaning' and nature of VIRTUS (martial or ethical, god or god-given).³⁶ Catulus' temple, to a FORTUNA countered by

³⁴ Brutus and Papirius Cursor: Ch. 2. Worth noting are the cry put in Marius' mouth by Plutarch after sacrificing before the battle (*Mar.* 26): ἐμῇ <ή> ΝΙΚΗ ('NIKE is mine'), the comment that Catulus' men had the greater part of the fighting ἀπὸ ΤΥΧΗΣ (ibid.) ('by FORTUNA/TYCHE'), and the words attributed to Marius just before his death by Piso 'that it was not the part of a man of sense to entrust himself to TYCHE any longer' (ibid. 45) οὐκ ἔστι νοῦν ἔχοντος ἀνδρὸς εἶτι τῇ ΤΥΧΗ πιστεύειν ἑαυτὸν).

³⁵ Plut. *Mar.* 26; *Inscr. It.* XIII.3. 64–6: 'as victor he built the temple to HONOS and VIRTUS out of the booty from the Cimbri and Teutones' (*de manubiis Cimbric(is) et Teuton(icis) aedem HONORI et VIRTUTI victor fecit*).

³⁶ McDonnell (1987) for the attribution and (2003), 251–6 for the Marian context. For McDonnell this is a further illustration of the division between 'Roman/martial'



Fig. 2. Head of acrolith identified as that of FORTUNA HUIUSCE DIEI (Museo Centrale Montemartini, Rome: author's photo).

or countering Marius' VIRTUS, is now generally believed to be temple 'B' in the Largo Argentina and to be the first and only public temple to FORTUNA HUIUSCE DIEI.³⁷ When first built it was a peripteral *tholos*, with a tall podium 2.5 m high faced with slabs of Anio tufa, with axial travertine steps on the eastern face, and eighteen stuccoed columns of Anio tufa with travertine bases and Corinthian capitals. The cult statue was probably the colossal acrolith discovered between temples B and C and now housed in the Montemartini museum (Fig. 2), which would have stood 8 m high. The temple

and 'Greek/ethical' VIRTUS I do not agree with him that the cult was always understood as the former, or indeed that the two categories are as distinct as he believes. I see this episode rather as a neat illustration of how discussion and contestation of the meanings and associations of a quality could take place around a temple and cult.

³⁷ Boyancé (1940) for the identification; Champeaux (1987), 154–63 (summarized by Gros (1995)) lays out the arguments invalidating the hypothesis that Aemilius Paullus had dedicated an earlier temple to this divine quality on the Palatine after Pydna. The *vicus huiusce diei* in *regio X* may be connected to a private shrine to the goddess in Catulus' portico on that hill.

mixes traditional axial frontality, focusing on the cult statue, with other, more 'Hellenistic' features. The building materials are tufa and travertine, although the statue itself appears to be of Parian marble. The temple was first identified by Boyancé on the basis of Varro's description of his aviary at Casinum. This description itself shows that the temple could be referred to colloquially as *aedes Catuli* (Catulus' temple), just as Marius' temple (or a larger group of buildings including that temple) was known as *monumentum Mari*.³⁸

The erection of these two temples in Rome created spaces both for the perpetuation by supporters of the two generals of rival interpretations of the specific victory that had financed them, and for different views of the deities to be held by these supporters and other inhabitants of the city. Catulus' choice in particular has given rise to much debate. It is possible that his vow to FORTUNA followed a tradition of the Lutatii,³⁹ but the new epithet *huiusce diei* ('of this day') raises a number of issues. Was the day in question that of the anniversary of the vow? Or every day? In one sense, the answer is the former, for the *dies natalis* of the temple (30 July) is known also to have been that of the vow, and it may be presumed that this was Catulus' intention.⁴⁰ Cicero, however, including FORTUNA HUIUSCE DIEI in a list of divine qualities, remarks of her, *nam valet in omnes dies* ('for she is effective on all days').⁴¹ Despite its source, this definition has led Coarelli to feel the need for a further explanation, an 'everyday' social reason for the divine quality's existence. His perhaps overly ingenious solution is that FORTUNA HUIUSCE DIEI oversaw the provision of 'daily bread' (the *frumentationes*, with the temple and precinct imitating in plan a *tessera frumentaria*). Champeaux, by contrast, is at pains to draw a distinction between the 'infinite proliferation' of Genii of all kinds and FORTUNA HUIUSCE DIEI, which only appears to have reached cult status on two occasions, although theoretically every day had its

³⁸ Varro *Rust.* 3.5.12: *ut est in aede Catuli*.

³⁹ Q. Lutatius Cerco, consul in 241, wished to consult the lots at Praeneste, with its large temple of FORTUNA PRIMIGENIA, and has been proposed as the founder of the temple to FORTUNA PUBLICA POPULI ROMANI QUIRITUM by Ziolkowski (1992), 40–5. In the early imperial period the name *C. Lutatius Cn. f. Cerco q.* ('Gaius Lutatius Cerco, son of Gnaeus, quaestor') also appears on a large base at Praeneste (*CIL* XIV 2929).

⁴⁰ Plut. *Mar.* 26; *fasti Pinc.*, *fasti Allif.* (*Inscr. Ital.* XIII.2, 47, 178, with 488).

⁴¹ Cic. *Leg.* 2.28.

FORTUNA. Her distinction is valid, but does not prevent the space in the Campus Martius having significance on days other than 30 July, whether for individuals or in terms of the kind of social reading proposed by Coarelli. The very creation of such a space would surely have allowed an individual to approach the goddess in the guise he or she wished to understand her.⁴²

Marius' more prominent rival, Sulla, is also credited with greater recognition of FORTUNA (and FELICITAS?) than of VIRTUS. Despite his famous preoccupation with his luck, and his title 'Felix', there is no evidence that he ever established a temple to FELICITAS. He may, however, have been involved—at least indirectly—in the restoration of the temple of FORTUNA PRIMIGENIA at Praeneste.⁴³ In Rome itself, moreover, sites of contest between Sulla and Marius involving divine qualities were also established, beginning at the time of the Jugurthine and Cimbric Wars—again at the end of the second century, and again on the Capitoline. Marius is said to have had two monuments erected for his victories over Jugurtha and the Cimbri, one on the Capitol, the other in an unknown location in Rome. The one on the Capitol was restored by Caesar during his aedileship in 65 and, at least in its Caesarian restoration, showed Marius between two trophy-carrying VICTORIAE.⁴⁴ Marius was said to have been enraged when Bocchus dedicated a group of gold statues representing Jugurtha's surrender to Sulla, flanked by trophy-carrying VICTORIAE. Plutarch places this event in 91, immediately before the outbreak of the Social War. Assuming similarity of appearance between the Marian monument and its Caesarian restoration, the statue group

⁴² Ch. 1 for *de Legibus*. Coarelli (1997), 275–93, esp. 288–9. Champeaux (1987), 165, cult status being reached in Catulus' temple and in a second minor cult on the Palatine, which may even have been an adjunct to Catulus'.

⁴³ Schilling (1954) for Sulla and Venus; Fasolo and Gullini (1953), 271–2 and 301–23 for Sulla and Praenestine chronology.

⁴⁴ Plut. *Caes.* 6, Suet. *Iul.* 11. Whether the Marian original was of similar appearance is uncertain (Hölscher (1980b), 356–7 and (1967), 141 n. 886 for two different views). A 'VICTORIA MARIANA' near Mutina is mentioned by Obsequens (70) in the context of a prodigy of 42, further strengthening Marius' connection with VICTORIA (although there is no way of knowing whether the epithet was introduced by Marius or after his time). On Marius and VICTORIA see Richard (1965), arguing for Marius as precursor to VICTORIA SULLANA and VICTORIA CAESARIS; Hölscher (1967), 141; Weinstock (1957), 224.

does appear to have been a clear response to Marius' monument.⁴⁵ The restoration of the latter by Caesar in 65 was necessary because this monument had been removed by Sulla, just as Marius had threatened to remove that of Bocchus.⁴⁶ The suggested identification of blocks with relief-carving from a rectangular pedestal of dark stone, found in the excavation of S. Omobono, as the base of Bocchus' monument is problematic. The reliefs include representations of victory gods (Roma, Hercules, Venus, Iuppiter, the Dioscuri), VICTORIAE, and what Hölscher has proposed as a depiction of VICTORIA SULLANA below the head of Hercules on leg greaves.⁴⁷

Hölscher concludes that the problems associated with identifying the monument as the base of Bocchus' statue group are outweighed by those of envisaging a later monument with the same motifs. The possibility that the base is that of a monument which is *not* described in surviving literary evidence is of course high, and Kuttner has recently put forward a convincing argument for redating this monument earlier, to the second century BC, on the basis of iconographic parallels with tower-tombs of that date in Numidian royal territory. One of Hölscher's principal difficulties in making a positive identification of the base as the Bocchus monument was the near-impossibility of envisaging a monument completed in 91 having survived Marius' power in Rome while Sulla was in the East. Other iconographic problems with his identification are more intractable and support its rejection (notably the incompatibility of the two crowns on the monument and the number of Sulla's victories in 91). This particular issue, however, should not have caused difficulty because the monument is very likely to have been located in the precinct of

⁴⁵ Plut. *Mar.* 32, *Sull.* 6, with Hölscher (1967), 141 and n. 886.

⁴⁶ Plut. *Mar.* 32, *Sull.* 6; Suet. *Iul.* 11 on Sulla's destruction of Marius' monuments.

⁴⁷ Hölscher (1980b), 359–68, esp. 363–4. Although this particular identification is probably incorrect, and close examination of the stone itself shows certain discrepancies with Hölscher's fig. 1 (p. 360), Sulla's VICTORIA was commemorated, from 82, in a different way, through the institution, after the victory at the Colline Gate, of the *ludi VICTORIAE SULLANAE*, thereafter held annually. On the question of whether the games received the epithet *Sullana* before the institution of those of VICTORIA CAESARIS, see Hölscher (1967), 144–7. The epithet is not found on calendars before the imperial period, nor in literature before Velleius, but parallels may be found for this form of reference, so that the possible use of the epithet in the Republican period cannot be excluded.

the temple of FIDES, which could have led Marius to scruple over its destruction. The find-spot of the blocks at S. Omobono argues for it, and the surviving remains associated with the temple of FIDES were connected to Roman relationships with allies, as Hölscher recognizes. The monument described in the literary sources was dedicated by Bocchus (even if Sulla was behind it, which should be no means by assumed), so its placement could surely be read precisely in connection with the *amicitia* and *foedus* ('friendship' and 'treaty') that Bocchus hoped to win through his surrender of Jugurtha to Sulla.⁴⁸ Thus, although the identification of Bocchus' statue group and the so-called 'Bocchus monument' cannot now be maintained, the monument physically preserved is itself likely to have commemorated a *foedus* and to have been located near the temple of FIDES. Although the argument for Bocchus' statue-group also having been located in proximity to this temple is now slightly less strong, given that the archaeological find-spot evidence can no longer be brought to bear, this too remains an attractive and plausible hypothesis.

The Capitol and Forum thus appear in these years to have been both a central and visible location in which Marius and Sulla played out their struggles to claim VICTORIA, and a focus for the (attempted) reappropriation of certain qualities such as FIDES, MENS, and CONCORDIA by men like Scaurus and Opimius. Unsurprisingly, such attempts were not uniformly successful. Plutarch preserves a story of one reaction to Opimius' temple to CONCORDIA:

What distressed the people more than this or anything else, however, was Opimius' erection of a temple of CONCORDIA, for it seemed that he was exulting and being presumptuous, and in a way holding a triumph over so many murders of citizens. Therefore, at night, beneath the inscription on the temple, somebody carved this line: 'a work of mad discord makes [made] a temple of CONCORDIA'.

⁴⁸ Hölscher (1980*b*), 368–9; Reusser (1993), esp. 135–7 for sensible comments on the existence of monuments not mentioned in literary evidence. Earlier: Kuttner (2006). Presumed Sullan initiative/influence: Hölscher (1967), 142–3 and, with more nuanced consideration, (1980*b*), 357. Sall. *Iug.* 111–13 on the negotiations, Bocchus' doubts about alienating his own people (111) if he acted 'with unstable FIDES' (*fluxa FIDE*), his apparent indecision, and his final resolution to agree to hand Jugurtha over.

οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων μᾶλλον ἡνίασε τοὺς πολλοὺς τὸ κατασκευασθὲν ὈΜΟΝΟΙΑΣ ἱερὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀπιμίου· σεμνύνεσθαι γὰρ ἐδόκει καὶ μέγα φρονεῖν καὶ τρόπον τινὰ θριαμβεύειν ἐπὶ φόνοις τοσούτοις πολιτῶν. διὸ καὶ νυκτὸς ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν τοῦ νεῷ παρενέγραφάν τινες τὸν στίχον τοῦτον· ἔργον ἀπονοίας ναὸν ὈΜΟΝΟΙΑΣ [ἐ]ποιεῖ.⁴⁹

The remoulding in terms of divine qualities of the most important hill of Rome had an effect: cognitive as well as physical spaces were created or recharged and became newly visible and available to different people. Apocryphal or not, the above reaction preserves just one instance of the kind of physical and intellectual engagement that could potentially occur with such a space.

A more positive consequence of available readings of a divine quality whose temple was situated upon the Capitol,⁵⁰ and one of potential relevance to a large number of people, has been discerned by Meadows and Williams in the development of changing iconography on coins. In the third book of *de Natura Deorum*, Cicero has Cotta, arguing against Balbus, claim that if the gods are accustomed to interfere in human affairs then NATIO must be thought divine. If NATIO is divine, so are ‘all those gods whom you were recounting, HONOS, FIDES, MENS, CONCORDIA, and therefore also SPES and MONETA and everything that we can conceive for ourselves in imagination...’ (*di omnes illi qui commemorabantur a te, HONOS FIDES MENS CONCORDIA, ergo etiam SPES MONETA omniaque quae cogitatione nobismet ipsi possumus fingere*).⁵¹ The word order suggests that HONOS FIDES MENS CONCORDIA refers back to *illi qui commemorabatur a te*. All four examples are indeed used by Balbus, and all four had also, as we have seen, received temple dedications in the generation before the 70s in which the *de Natura Deorum* was set. SPES [and] MONETA appear rather to be instances of Cotta’s posited *omnia... quae cogitatione nobismet ipsi possumus fingere*. These are not ‘invented’ examples, however, but two further instances of qualities

⁴⁹ Plut. *C. Gracch.* 17. Morstein-Marx (2004), who assumes that the episode did actually occur, rightly points out (102–3 n. 159) that if *ποιεῖ* is emended to *ἐποιεῖ* (*fecit*), the graffiti resemble even further a parody of a dedicatory formula, which he suggests was in Latin *exemplum vecordiae templum CONCORDIAE fecit*.

⁵⁰ Tucci (2005) argues persuasively that the fourth-century temple whose remains are in the Aracoeli gardens was moved around 78 onto the top of the substructures of the so-called ‘Tabularium’, overlooking the Forum.

⁵¹ Cic. *Nat. D.* 3.47.

that did receive cult in the city. SPES, as we have seen, had a temple in the Forum Holitorium from the third century, and probably had some form of cult site from an earlier date in the area later known as SPES VETUS. The case of MONETA is more complex. Mayor suggested that in this passage it should be taken in its old sense of MNEMOSYNE (MEMORY), 'as it occurs in a list of abstract nouns'. This is a useful suggestion, except in its apparent wish to delineate clearly between goddess and abstract noun.⁵² A number of traditions about the origin of Iuno MONETA appear to have been circulating in Rome in the first century. MONETA may be an epithet of Iuno, identifying one aspect of Iuno's sphere of interest. The sphere of warning (from *moneo*) is, however, first mentioned in extant evidence by Cicero, and then only to ridicule it. Versions ascribing the foundations to one of the Camilli do not, moreover, provide specific instances of warning. Similarly, although the scholiast to Lucan connects the vowing in 390 with the warning of the geese, Plutarch does not mention the epithet in his life of Camillus. The *Suda*, moreover, preserves the suggestion that the epithet dates from the war against Pyrrhus and the Tarentines, won by following Iuno's advice, with the title being glossed σύμβουλος ('counsellor'). Her installation in the fourth century is usually accepted by scholars today as the 'correct' tradition.⁵³ MONETA's independent existence can also be deduced from a number of sources, including the passage in *de Natura Deorum* quoted above. In these cases she appears to have the function 'memory', or 'remembrancer' or 'reminder'.⁵⁴ These different readings of MONETA and Iuno MONETA existed concurrently. Although Meadows and Williams claim that the 'memory' aspect of the goddess 'never explicitly emerges when she appears as an epithet of Iuno', overlap between the two in fact appears probable because it was possible to refer to Iuno MONETA by epithet alone. In 173 a second temple to Iuno MONETA was vowed by the praetor C. Cicereius. It was dedicated by the

⁵² Mayor (1885), 131.

⁵³ Cic. *Div.* 1.101; Schol. ad Lucan 1.380; *Suda* (Μονήτα), cited by Meadows and Williams (2001), 31–3.

⁵⁴ See *ibid.* 33: Livius Andronicus translated the Muse of *Od.* 8.480–1 as MONETA, and as late as the second century AD, long after the association with the Mint, Hyginus could still describe the Muses as born *ex Iove et MONETA* ('of Iuppiter and MONETA'; *Fab.* 27 l.1), suggesting a continuance of the reading 'MEMORY'.

same man on the Alban Mount five years later. When recounting the vow, Livy speaks of a temple of Iuno MONETA, but when narrating the fact of dedication, he refers simply to the *aedes MONETAE* ('temple of MONETA').⁵⁵

Meadows' and Williams' important study focuses upon the temple of Iuno MONETA on the Capitol, home of the Republican Mint, location of certain measuring standards and also, allegedly, of the *libri lintei* ('Linen Books'). They are careful not to search for 'the "true nature"' of the goddess, but rather rightly to attempt to establish the range of connotations which MONETA could evoke. Nor do they attempt to isolate the symbolic from the practical in their search for explanations. Drawing on the connotations of MONETA's existence as a deity of remembrance, like MNEMOSYNE, and of advising and warning, they have posited a link between the location of the Mint, that of the standards, and Licinius Macer's claim to have found the Linen Books in this temple. The link is provided by status and its measurement. Status could be measured in terms of land (using the measures), money (measured in coin), and moral worth (supported by historical records). MONETA's embodiment of memory or remembering allowed her, on this reading, to act as a guarantor of the weight standard of the coins, of the accuracy both of the measures and the records perhaps stored in her temple, and, from the 130s onwards, if they surmise correctly, of the claims made iconographically upon coins minted there.⁵⁶ In other words, her temple provided both a physical and a conceptual space within which various aspects of the concept/deity could be drawn upon, just as I am arguing is the case for other divine qualities. The growing number of

⁵⁵ Meadows and Williams (2001), 33. Livy 7.28.4–6 (fourth-century foundation); Livy 42.7.1: 'Gaius Cicereius... had vowed a temple to Iuno MONETA in that battle' (*C. Cicereius... voverat in ea pugna... aedem Iunoni MONETAETAE*); 45.15.10 (168): 'in that year Gaius Cicereius dedicated the temple of MONE<TA on the> Alban <mount>' (*eodem anno C. Cicereius aedem MONET<AE in monte> Albano dedicavit*). Although the text is not completely secure at this point, the restitution above, which is Jordan's, is the only logical solution. In any case 'Iunoni' cannot have occurred, since this would have preceded 'MONETAETAE'.

⁵⁶ Meadows and Williams (2001) e.g. explaining the suitability of locating the Mint on the Arx, which might be protected from thieves and assaults, and in the temple of MONETA. Mint: Livy 6.20.13; monetar feet and bushels: Hyg. *de condic. agr.*, Ps-Priscian *Carmen de Ponderibus* 61–2; *libri lintei*: Livy 4.7.12; 4.20.8.

numismatic images, moreover, gave prominence to another resource through which various other divine qualities were drawn upon to make claims: the coin-field.

MONETA'S MONUMENTA

The proliferation of coin images from the 130s onwards was a numismatic phenomenon exclusive to Rome. The very mobilization of this new (or newly exploited) resource seems to have been validated by MONETA, situated on the Capitoline hill among other temples to divine qualities, which were the focus of renewed attention in these years. Surviving coins featuring divine qualities in such images begin in the 120s, coinciding even more closely with the refoundations just discussed.

The potential capacity of numismatics to provide ancient historians with a source of evidence relevant to a socially and geographically wide cross-section of society has led to extensive discussion of the intent behind the production of images on coins, the audience(s) at which they were 'targeted', and the extent to which those handling the coins may or may not have paid attention to their changing iconography, despite the extremely scant surviving evidence that can be brought to bear on such issues.⁵⁷ Under the Republic, the active creation or selection of types must have been limited to members of the nobility. They alone commanded the material and symbolic resources allowing them influence over the practical resource constituted by the coin-field.⁵⁸ Since the use of coin as a means of exchange was so widespread in the Roman world, however, a wide variety of people must frequently have come into contact with

⁵⁷ Evidence beyond that of the coins themselves is practically non-existent both for the period in which we are interested and more generally: Alföldi (1956), Crawford (1983), Ehrhardt (1984), Evans (1992), Flower (1996). References to the attention paid to divine figures on coins are found in Rabbinic literature, as part of its attempts to negotiate a viable path for Jews living in a society where 'idolatrous' images were omnipresent, both in the form of statues and on coins. I am grateful to Jonathan Kirkpatrick for bringing this source to my attention.

⁵⁸ The choice of images seems to have rested with the *tresviri monetales* or other officials occasionally responsible for minting. Crawford (1974), ii 598–603 and 725–44 addresses the questions of monetary magistrates and responsibility for types.

numismatic images once the coins were in circulation, although rarely in any systematic way.⁵⁹ Given the conclusions drawn from the various ‘appearances’ of divine qualities in theatre in Rome, it is tempting to suggest that a wider group of people than is often assumed may also have been *actively* aware of divine qualities in this widely circulated form of iconographic representation. Such a hypothesis seems increasingly plausible after Morstein-Marx’s investigation of late-Republican coinage in his work on mass oratory. He makes a strong case for seeing coinage and *contiones* as complementary and comparable media ‘of communication’, intersecting with the urban environment. Both are highly allusive. Allusions on coins, then, are likely to have been understood by some members of the common citizenry, both those allusions that Morstein-Marx terms ‘first-order’ (such as the connection between *LIBERTAS* and suffrage) and those of the ‘second’ order (referring to individual acts or monuments of a moneyer’s ancestor, for instance).⁶⁰

Meadows and Williams complement their discussion of *MONETA* with an important argument for understanding coins as (small and widely circulated) *monumenta*, whose iconography should be considered within the cultural category of ‘commemoration’. On this reading, the sudden flowering of numismatic types from the 130s created a series of new, small, and portable spaces in which moneyers were able to think about themselves, their families, their city, their past, and their present. This explanation allows the much-debated, and ultimately unsatisfactory, question of ‘propaganda’ to be laid aside,⁶¹ and the coin images to be understood as situated in, or rather

⁵⁹ Howgego (1992), 30. The iconography was not, of course, limited to coins, but is now more easily identifiable from the numismatic evidence, given the dearth of surviving late Republican monumental art: Hölscher (1982), 270.

⁶⁰ Morstein-Marx (2004), 82–91 (quote p. 91), esp. 85–6, *contra* e.g. Holliday (2002) and Hölscher. Hölscher himself, who argues for an ‘Insider Art’ in the late Republican period, aimed exclusively at the nobility, admits that ‘these figurative structures [e.g. personifications] are not, by and large, difficult to understand as such’ since (as is well known) they entered into common usage in the early imperial period. He nevertheless maintains that ‘when they were introduced at the end of the Republic, they must initially have been somewhat unusual’ (Hölscher (1994b), 146: emphasis added). Wiseman (1998a), 77 n. 11 is closer to Morstein-Marx’s analysis, and Noreña (2001), 154 addresses the question of accessibility under the emperors.

⁶¹ Meadows and Williams (2001). Flower (1996), 86 makes a similar suggestion. ‘Propaganda’: see e.g. Howgego (1995), 71.

as comprising, another 'space' in which people were able to think and make claims about themselves, others, and their contribution to past and present. Divine qualities played a small but significant role in that space.

Those coins upon which divine qualities and their attributes can be identified with some certainty are collected together in Appendix 3. Statistical sampling of numismatic evidence can only be used to draw approximate conclusions about the iconography of all coins produced in the period in question. My focus here will be rather on the particular ways in which certain moneyers chose to use divine qualities as commemorative forms. Some idea of the frequency with which such images were chosen in relation to others helps nonetheless to contextualize their usefulness: they constitute around 35 per cent of the *number of different deities* represented on surviving coin types from the period from 137 (the date of the earliest extant coin that shows signs of changing types) to 43 (the year of Cicero's death).⁶² Recalculation using die estimates⁶³ to provide an approximate order of magnitude for the number of actual *coins* produced during this period on which divine qualities feature relative to other deities does not at first significantly alter the figure (*c.*34 per cent). It is important to be aware, however, that if representations of *VICTORIA* are excluded from this second calculation the proportion drops to as low as 6 per cent.⁶⁴

By the time of the emperors, of course, 'personifications' of a large number of qualities were a common feature on the coinage of Rome, some receiving cult in the city, others not.⁶⁵ Wallace-Hadrill has claimed, perhaps not without justification in a discussion of the Principate, that '[w]hen Liberalitas and Clementia both were represented as female figures with divine attributes, it meant nothing to the coin-user to know that one had a temple at Rome, the other not'.⁶⁶ In the Republican period, however, almost all the qualities that

⁶² Calculations are based upon *RRC* 234–508 inclusive, except 494–7, from 42 bc.

⁶³ Following Crawford's *RRC* die-calculations.

⁶⁴ *VICTORIA* is the only divine quality to feature on earlier issues, where the set of types was much more restricted.

⁶⁵ Noreña (2001) offers a more precise quantification of the importance of specific qualities under different emperors.

⁶⁶ Wallace-Hadrill (1981a), 315.

feature on the extant coinage (CLEMENTIA, CONCORDIA, FELICITAS, FIDES, FORTUNA, HONOS, VIRTUS, LIBERTAS, PIETAS, SALUS, and VICTORIA) are indeed known already to have had a temple or temples in the city. In the case of all extant coins the numismatic representation post-dates the temple foundation, with the exception of the coin featuring the temple to CLEMENTIA CAESARIS (App. 3, no. 1). This denarius may have been minted before building began (if building ever began), but no doubt after the honour had been voted.⁶⁷ The potential to develop ‘female figures with divine attributes’ (in other words to create a ‘personification’ of a quality one wishes to represent, on a coin or in other plastic form) was of course latent in this representation of *divine* qualities on coins. The exploitation of such potential, most visible under the Principate, may even have begun in the very last years of the period under consideration here. It remains important nonetheless to recognize the limitations on representations in this formative period to qualities receiving cult.

The restriction has been little commented upon. Classen refers to it, in the course of his investigation of ‘which moral concepts were particularly important to the Romans, which ideals characterized their upbringing and which qualities they valued and sought to emphasize in public to others or to themselves’. He claims, however, to find the numismatic evidence ‘disappointing’ because of it, since ‘even a quality so prominent there as *sapientia* is missing’.⁶⁸ Such a reaction seems entirely to neglect the positive implications of such a restriction. Of course no quality can be dismissed as having been without importance to (certain) people in Rome because it never appeared on a coin—or indeed because it never received a temple. On the other hand, the images of divine qualities actually created

⁶⁷ Classen (1986), 276–9. Exceptions to the limitation of divine qualities on coins to those known to have a temple in Rome (*valetudo*, *pax*, *triumpus*) are discussed below.

⁶⁸ *ibid.* 259 and 278. He is the only scholar to my knowledge to have explicitly recognized the restriction; see, too, Wallace-Hadrill (1986), 74. Hölscher’s discussion (1980a), 279 includes personifications of places. These could of course also be the subject of attempts to articulate an ‘identity’ (e.g. ‘Italia’ in the Social War, well discussed in Burnett (1998), esp. 167), but including such elements leads Hölscher to speak of ‘the creation of an ever-increasing number of new personifications’, which, despite its strict accuracy, diverts attention from the restriction of qualities on coinage to divine qualities.

upon coins not only suggest the value still accorded to those qualities—the ‘tone’, that is, they still possessed—sometimes long after the first institution of cult. They also form part of that process of according value. They constitute a whole set of new *monumenta* making further claims through understandings of these qualities, and through their meanings and associations. It was surely this resonance that was transferred to other qualities when they did later begin to appear on coins.

Attributes and Legends

The figural representations on coins may have been based upon cult statues, although this is now difficult to prove because so few cult statues survive from the Republic.⁶⁹ Links with a temple and its founder were, however, occasionally direct: D. Iunius Silanus, for example, minted *denarii* in 91 portraying SALUS on the obverse, which may at least partially refer to the vowing, letting, and dedication of the temple to SALUS by his ancestor C. Iunius Bubulcus Brutus in 311–302 (Fig. 3: App. 3, no. 40).⁷⁰ On other examples the quality



Fig. 3. Obverse of denarius of Silanus featuring SALUS and VICTORIA (91 BC) (App. 3, no. 40).

⁶⁹ Vermeule (1987) discusses the issue with reference to the imperial period. Martin (1987) for Republican statues.

⁷⁰ On the temple foundation see Ch. 2. Sydenham (1952) suggests that VICTORIA on the reverse highlights the victory in the Samnite Wars during which Brutus made the vow (on his no. 645). Weinstock's identification of App. 3, no. 11 is discussed below. Despite the relatively small number of coins minted (presumably because



Fig. 4a. Denarius of C. Cassius featuring *LIBERTAS* (App. 3, no. 14).

appears rather to have been chosen because (one reading of) it allowed a moneyer without attested direct family links to a foundation to formulate a particular message.

Divine qualities were depicted on many coins in the usual figural form given to god(desse)s, but also found other forms of numismatic expression, both through the isolation of attributes to form symbols and through legends. Attributes such as the *pileus* (liberty cap) or the *caduceus* (herald's staff), which came to represent *LIBERTAS* and *FELICITAS* respectively, underwent this process of 'abstraction' through their association with a divine quality. *LIBERTAS*, *FELICITAS*, and others were represented on coins only because they were recipients of cult in Rome, and the same is true of their attributes. The *pileus* initially marked out the free Roman citizen; it became an attribute of *LIBERTAS* (Fig. 4: App. 3, nos. 14 and 15, where the *pileus* is held by *LIBERTAS*), was then shown within the coin-field with *LIBERTAS* (Fig. 5a–c, nos. 16, 17, and 18), and finally became a sign for *LIBERTAS* in its own right (Fig. 6, no. 32).⁷¹ The 'abstract language

plans for the temple were cut short), P. Sepullius Macer's denarius featuring the temple to *CLEMENTIA CAESARIS* (App. 3, no. 1), discussed above, actually put into circulation a representation of a divine quality without a cult or cult location.

⁷¹ Hölischer (1982), 273–4. *FELICITAS* only appears with the *caduceus* on coins of the imperial period, the earliest extant being a *dupondius* from the time of Galba (*RIC* i 205, no. 55, with the legend '*FELICITAS PUBLICA*'), but since only one coin type featuring *FELICITAS* survives from the Republic (App. 3, no. 7), featuring a diademed bust of the divine quality, it is impossible to say whether the association was only made in the imperial period or not.



Fig. 4b. Denarius of M. Porcius Laeca featuring *LIBERTAS* and *VICTORIA* (App. 3, no. 15).

of signs' eventually formed by isolated attributes like the *pileus* was thus also restricted to attributes already associated with divine figures.

The best exploration of divine qualities on late Republican coinage is Hölscher's analysis of coin iconography as part of a new 'language' developing in this period. His linguistic analogy is useful, but should not be pressed too far.⁷² In his explanation of the development of isolated attributes on coins, for example, he asserts that 'when it came to conveying a precise semantic meaning, the personifications [that is, the figural representations] became ever less suitable [as vehicles] for such abstract conceptions, while attributes with the character of ciphers were [suitable]'.⁷³ Was the isolation of attributes really designed to restrict this 'semantic meaning'? Since in plastic form the 'personhaften Gestalten' ('figural representations') appear to have been distinguished largely by attribute, it does not seem difficult to envisage how attributes came to be represented in their

⁷² Hölscher (1980a), esp. 265–81; (1982), to which the following discussion is greatly indebted. See also the helpful remarks of Elsner in his foreword to Hölscher (2004), esp. pp. xxvi–xxvii.

⁷³ Hölscher (1982), 273: 'Als Träger der semantischen Bedeutung eignen sich bei derart abstrakten Vorstellungen immer weniger die personhaften Gestalten, sondern vielmehr chiffrenhafte Attribute...'



Fig. 5a. Denarius of M. Cato featuring Roma or LIBERTAS (75 BC) (App. 3, no. 16).

stead, to be ‘focused in upon’, in the relatively small space of a coin-field, especially given that the ideal female forms (head, bust, or figure) that were used to depict divine qualities otherwise resembled each other so closely.⁷⁴

The addition of a verbal inscription to the visual imagery in the introduction of legends on Roman Republican coinage appears initially to have answered a similar need to ensure that the ever-expanding number of coin types could be understood. Such a need arose through the rapid and unplanned adoption, development, and systematization of a new iconography, in which spatial coherence and temporal consistency were often disregarded.⁷⁵ Certain images appear to have presented particular difficulties of identification and hence to have required an explanatory legend, notably the ideal female heads or busts used to represent divine qualities.⁷⁶ Hölscher’s equation of the role of verbal legend and of attribute for identification purposes as ‘a further indication of the affinity of pictorial symbols to language’⁷⁷ requires clarification, however, in terms of

⁷⁴ See below on legends and n. 79.

⁷⁵ See e.g. *RRC* 242/1 and 243/1, which Hölscher (1982), 276 identifies as Minucius’ column with two (non-contemporaneous) family members, a ‘timeless combination’ of ancestors and their monuments.

⁷⁶ e.g. Classen (1986), 263–4; Howgego (1995), 75; Hölscher (1982), 277–8, (1980a), 279–81.

⁷⁷ Hölscher (1980a), 279.



Fig. 5b. Reverse of denarius of C. Egnatius Maxsumus featuring *LIBERTAS* and *VICTORIA* (App. 3, no. 17).

Fig. 5c. Reverse of denarius of Maxsumus featuring distyle temple with Jupiter and *LIBERTAS* (75 BC) (App. 3, no. 18).

the ‘semantic range’ of the ‘personification’ (depicted as figure, bust, or head) in relation to attribute and legend. The combination of verbal legends with the depiction of the female forms within the coin-field does not only serve to identify the particular divine quality in question. It also emphasizes the special place occupied by these divine qualities at the intersection of discourse (that is, the occurrence of words which are also the names of divinities in many different kinds of speech and writing) and divinity (the honouring of certain entities with a temple or festival or other resources—including coin imagery—considered here).⁷⁸ Depicting a diademed goddess with the accompanying inscription *LIBERTAS* may, in other words, both have prevented and been intended to prevent the deity being mistaken for otherwise identical portrayals of other divine qualities, such as *CONCORDIA* or *SALUS*. It did not, however, further narrow the range of possible evocations and readings of *LIBERTAS* itself/herself. The depiction of a *pileus* in its/her stead was, as Hölscher notes, potentially more restrictive.⁷⁹ The original connection of the

⁷⁸ See Ch. 1 above.

⁷⁹ Hölscher (1982), 273. Only in one circumstance might legends be said to narrow the frame of reference further than did certain attributes: in the case of those attributes which belonged to more than one deity, or which could be represented with a



Fig. 5d. Obverse of denarius of Maxsumus featuring LIBERTAS (75 BC) (App. 3, no. 19).

pileus with the freedom of a Roman citizen as opposed to a slave gave it, at least originally, a narrower frame of reference than the range of meanings available in LIBERTAS (as written legend/divine quality). Its 'semantic range' might nevertheless be broadened to some extent (although as far as LIBERTAS is concerned, only one example of such extension exists from the period under consideration here: no. 32, discussed below). That broadening was consequent upon the *pileus* being LIBERTAS' attribute.⁸⁰

Attributes and legends thus performed a similar, but not identical, function. Both permitted the identification of a particular divine (usually female) form otherwise resembling other divine forms. Legends could potentially work in tandem with attributes, not only to explain or to clarify but also to extend meanings.⁸¹ Although attributes, by their nature, marked out a particular aspect of divine qualities, they could come in isolation to represent them, either by conveying a particular aspect of the divine quality in question or by taking on a wider 'semantic range' from their association with that

different deity in order to broaden the range of concepts evoked. The *cornucopia*, for example, may belong to FORTUNA or FELICITAS, while VICTORIA is shown on extant coins with the *caduceus* and *patera* (RRC 460/4), or with *patera* as well as palm-branch (RRC 343, 462).

⁸⁰ See pp. 149–50 below on App. 3, no. 32.

⁸¹ Howgego (1995), 75. Examples are predominantly from the imperial period, when the use of legends had become standardized, rather than explanatory, but the potential was inherent in Republican coins.

divine quality. If we are to assimilate both attribute and legend to a form of language, as Hölscher does, we must, moreover, remember that this assimilation may also be applied to divine qualities themselves in their 'figural' numismatic form. Considering divine qualities as a *cognitive* vocabulary, in which the constituent elements are much more than words, and can be expressed in many ways, frees us from the unhelpful restrictions imposed by forcing a more precise linguistic analogy upon them.

The choice of attribute for a particular divine quality on a coin is often likely to have been copied from that held by the cult statue. One might use the sphere of reference of such an attribute to argue that the 'originals' of the plastic forms surviving on coins, and hence the deities to which they were connected, were also only concerned with this more limited meaning. (Such an argument would be akin to the position of McDonnell, positing an exclusively 'native', martial meaning for the deity 'Virtus', which must be distinguished from the influence of Greek ἀρετή.⁸²) Very little is known of the appearance of these cult statues, however, except from numismatic evidence. The only surviving statues (such as that, perhaps FORTUNA HUIUSCE DIEI, discussed above) date to more or less the same period as the coin issues, even if they *may* have replaced older statues carrying the same attribute. Moreover, whatever the 'original meaning' of the divine quality was to the temple founder, for example, resources such as temples, statues, and festival days could be drawn upon, as we have seen, by different people for their own purposes. Coin images are no more (or less) than another resource through which these kinds of interpretations were made possible.

Divine Qualities on Coins

The possibility that the *pileus* did indeed, at some stage at least, form part of a cult image of LIBERTAS is raised by the second of a series of three coins issued by C. Egnatius Maxsumus around 75 (no. 18). Both the other issues of the series (nos. 17 and 19: see Fig. 5b and d) also feature LIBERTAS, once on a reverse in a *biga*, crowned by

⁸² McDonnell (1990).

VICTORIA, with the *pileus* floating freely beside the goddess (no. 17). The reverse of no. 18 depicts a distyle temple with Iuppiter and LIBERTAS inside: Iuppiter holds a staff, and a thunderbolt is depicted above him, while a *pileus* is seen above LIBERTAS. Nothing is known of cult images of LIBERTAS except through Cicero's polemic against Clodius' choice of statue for his shrine. This statue was installed after this coin was minted, and the polemic was concerned with this statue's original role and provenance, precisely in order to prove its lack of suitability to serve as a cult image.⁸³ It cannot help us here. It is therefore impossible to tell whether the choice of attribute in numismatic iconography directly reflected that of the cult statue, or whether the latter may have been a later feature, contemporary with (or even influenced by) developments on the coins.

Divine qualities feature on extant coins from every decade of the last century of the Republic, from the 120s onwards, and flourish particularly in the 40s under Caesar. Interpretations of the images in which they featured are highly dependent upon dating—as is the case with all numismatic iconography of this period—and thus constantly open to revision. Here I largely follow the dating of Crawford.⁸⁴ The earliest extant examples are *denarii* from 126–5 (nos. 14 and 15, Fig. 4). The helmeted head of Roma is portrayed on the obverse of each, while the reverses depict LIBERTAS in a *quadriga*, with *pileus* and reins in her hands, being crowned (on no. 15) by VICTORIA. The images appear to be connected to laws passed by the moneyers' respective ancestors to protect LIBERTAS in the civic sphere. The first alludes to the *lex Cassia tabellaria*, introduced by L. Cassius Longinus Ravilla in 137,⁸⁵ which instituted a secret ballot at public trials involving non-capital prosecutions (hence the voting urn behind Roma on the obverse). The second suggests the *leges Porciae de provocatione* (Porcian laws on

⁸³ Cicero claimed that the statue brought by Clodius' brother to serve as the cult statue of LIBERTAS in the shrine on the site of Cicero's house was that of a courtesan from Tanagra. See further Ch. 6.

⁸⁴ Crawford (1974). The corrections in date proposed by Hersh (1977) affect only nos. 14 and 15, whose relative chronology would be reversed. Hersh also suggests that Crawford over-estimates the die count for rare issues and under-estimates for common issues. His emendations for particular coins are noted in the appendix, but the broad contextual calculations here are based on Crawford.

⁸⁵ This was probably also commemorated in similar manner, this time by the head of LIBERTAS and accompanying legend, on Q. Cassius' denarius of 55 (no. 21).



Fig. 6. Denarius of L. Plaetorius Cestus featuring *pileus* (43–2 BC) (App. 3, no. 32).

provocatio) of the early second century, which forbade the flogging of a Roman citizen except when on military service, and placed Roman civilians outside Rome's boundary in a position to claim protection against execution without proper legal process in the city. All these popular measures are commemorated in conjunction with *LIBERTAS*, dear to the Roman plebs (who had no doubt voted overwhelmingly in favour of the benefits to be gained from these measures).⁸⁶

On these coins, *LIBERTAS* carried the *pileus*. In the temple to (Iuppiter) *LIBERTAS* set up by his father, Ti. Sempronius Gracchus had placed a painting of the battle at Beneventum of 214, depicting slave volunteers he had freed in that battle, wearing their *pilei*. The *pileus* was there, and generally when worn by freedmen, directly connected with the issue of freedom from slavery.⁸⁷ It has extended 'semantic' range in the numismatic language of one later Republican coin at least (no. 32, Fig. 6; the famous denarius of Brutus of 43/2, commemorating the Ides of March by portraying the *pileus* in isolation between two daggers of the murderers of Caesar). The allusion is to *LIBERTAS* in opposition to tyranny—a metaphorical enslavement—embodied by the early kings and others like them, and then

⁸⁶ For *LIBERTAS* in this period see Wirszubski (1950), chs. 1 and 2. See Cic. *Verr.* 5.163.

⁸⁷ See Ch. 5. See further e.g. Livy 24.32.9; Val. Max. 8.6.2 for the *pileus* being used as a visual promise of *LIBERTAS* to slaves; also Plut. *Flam.* 13.6; App. *Mith.* 1.2.

by Caesar as dictator. Such an image could be produced because the cap (originally more 'confining' because circumscribing the particular aspect of the quality to which attention was drawn) was first depicted as the distinguishing attribute of LIBERTAS.⁸⁸ With the exception of this famous denarius, the tendency on later Republican coins appears increasingly to have been to identify the head or figure of LIBERTAS by means of a legend, rather than through the *pileus*.⁸⁹ This does not permit us to conclude that only the 'word' was important, however, and hence to talk of purely 'political catch-words'. As already observed, the figures gained their resonance, or legitimation, at this time—their very right to appear in the coin-field—from their divinity.⁹⁰

In 54 M. Iunius Brutus represented LIBERTAS on a coin in reference to a remote past, long before public cult to LIBERTAS is known to have begun in the city. His denarius (no. 22, Fig. 7) made use of the simple legend BRVTVS on its reverse both to provide the moneyer's name and to identify the type: L. Iunius Brutus, first consul of the Republic, portrayed walking between two lictors. The head of LIBERTAS, with accompanying inscription, occupied the obverse. Brutus commemorated his ancestor, who had overthrown Tarquinius Superbus, and may also have expressed his opposition to Pompey's achieving sole office.⁹¹ Brutus' descent from and admiration of his ancestors was often commented on. In a letter of 45 Cicero mentioned the family tree of the Iunii drawn up by Atticus, which claimed for Brutus descent from Brutus and Ahala, and which was displayed in the 'Parthenon' on one of Brutus' estates. In the second *Philippic* he talked of the *imagines* of Brutus and Ahala, constantly

⁸⁸ For these purposes the lack of obvious 'function' of the *pileus* for LIBERTAS, as opposed to Iuppiter's thunderbolt or Hercules' club, is immaterial, although it does help to explain why such an attribute could become separated from the deity within the coin-field, since there was no necessity for her to 'wield' it.

⁸⁹ One aspect perhaps more easily emphasized in a small coin-field through a verbal than a pictorial label is archaism, e.g. the 'LEIBERTAS' used by Brutus (nos. 27, 28, and 31) in a deliberate attempt to evoke earlier times and connotations.

⁹⁰ The chronology of choice of attribute and/or legend varies, on the evidence of the surviving coin types, for different divine qualities.

⁹¹ Cicero's correspondence shows that rumours of a dictatorship were circulating in late 54 (e.g. *Att.* 4.18.3). Pompey had been considered a tyrant since 59, the year of Vettius' plot, in which Brutus was originally implicated, before a 'nocturnal intercession' (*nocturnam deprecationem*, *Att.* 2.24.3), presumably by Servilia on his behalf.



Fig. 7. Denarius of M. Iunius Brutus featuring LIBERTAS (54 BC) (App. 3, no. 22).

under their descendant's gaze. In the tenth *Philippic* he associated LIBERTAS with the *imago*, claiming, with reference to the people's reaction at the *ludi* in Brutus' absence, that although 'the person of the liberator was absent, the memory of LIBERTAS was present, and in this Brutus' *imago* seemed to be distinguished' (*corpus aberat liberatoris, LIBERTATIS memoria aderat; in qua Bruti imago cerni videbatur*).⁹² By minting this coin in 54, I would suggest, Brutus deliberately created another such 'image', not least for himself.

Despite the dangers of trying to assess reactions to coins once in circulation, it is worth pausing here to explore one potential kind of location in which sets or series by moneyers *might* have been visible, or at least accessible, together. For reasons entirely unconnected to a commemorative function for coins and concerned rather with artistic models and precedents, Zehnacker has argued for an 'archive' of coin types preserved in the mint in Rome.⁹³ Although the idea of a central archive is problematic, it is just possible that examples ('sets') of coin types of individual moneyers or families might have been

⁹² Family tree: *Att.* 13.40.1, and *Nep. Att.* 18.3; see also *Plut. Brut.* 1 and *Cic. Brut.* 331. Brutus and Ahala: *Phil.* 2.26; see also *Att.* 2.24.3. Lintott (1970), 13–18 and (1968), 63 has a sensible discussion of the use and manipulation of the story of Ahala. Association of *imago* and LIBERTAS: *Cic. Phil.* 10.8. For parallels of a space with ancestral imagery providing an inspirational standard to live up to (or to fail to live up to), see *Cic. Cat.* 3.10 and *Val. Max.* 3.5.1, with Flower (1996), 87–8.

⁹³ Zehnacker (1973), 711–12.

stored in the houses of important families, in the same way that records often were. This would have created potential spaces in which whole series of coin issues could be accessed in their entirety, thereby overcoming in part one seemingly intractable obstacle encountered by those attempting to assess the degree to which such series might have been known and understood by contemporaries, namely the necessarily random selection encountered in actual transactions in coin. The 'audience' for such sets of objects would certainly not have been large (unless the coin series were actually displayed in *atria*, in somewhat similar manner to *imagines*, which seems very unlikely).⁹⁴ The idea is suggestive rather in terms of self-presentation to oneself, and of the role of divine qualities in such methods of thinking and presenting. Divine qualities formed a fruitful means of presenting a self-image, for one's own benefit as well as for others, as we shall soon see from a wider topographical perspective.⁹⁵ On this much smaller physical scale, Brutus' is another interesting case. By portraying LIBERTAS on the coin's obverse, Brutus was able to draw upon a particular aspect of this divine quality, one concerned with political tyranny, as overthrown by the ancestor depicted on the reverse.⁹⁶ This particular aspect of LIBERTAS could also be pushed forward in time to provide another message at the point of contact with a potential contemporary viewer (a category which would include Brutus himself). This 'second' message was related to the civic situation at the time of the coin's issue—Pompey's growing influence and potential dictatorship. It was dependent upon the first in terms of meaning, but was also distinct from it chronologically, with the head of LIBERTAS mediating between the two. By remaining in circulation (and/or storage), the coin belonged not just to 54 but also to subsequent years. Just as the single legend 'BRVTVS' incorporated both moneyer and ancestor, so in LIBERTAS was summarized

⁹⁴ Culham (1989) has a good discussion of this form of record storage. Even *imagines* were, of course, only visible on certain days, and there is no record of such display of coins in any extant source, whereas there are many references to *imagines*. (See Flower (1996), appendices A and B for literary and epigraphic *testimonia* on *imagines*.) Even if such series were not *displayed*, however, it seems far from impossible that they might have been *kept*.

⁹⁵ Ch. 6 on temples in proximity to *domus* in *horti*.

⁹⁶ Wallace-Hadrill (1986), 69 rightly underlines how 'the two faces of a coin must be read as part of a coherent whole'.



Fig. 8. Denarius of M' Acilius featuring SALUS and VALETUDO (49 BC) (App. 3, no. 41).

not only the *particular* occasion of Superbus' overthrow but also the *general* potential for tyranny to be overthrown. Brutus, of course, made that potential particular and real again on the Ides of March 44, ten years after this coin was issued.

The later of the two extant coin series featuring SALUS, that of M' Acilius Glabrio from 49, may furnish a similar example (no. 41, Fig. 8, denarii with a large issue compared to others featuring divine qualities). The obverse portrays the head of SALUS, identified by legend, while on the reverse VALETUDO, similarly identified, is portrayed like HYGIEIA, standing with her arm resting on a column and holding a snake in her right hand. One aspect of SALUS explicitly in play is clearly marked by VALETUDO, namely the healing capacity of the divine quality. This might celebrate a connection between the Acilii (Glabriones) and the installation of Archagathus, son of Lysanias, the first Greek doctor to practise in Rome.⁹⁷ Archagathus was set up through public funds 'at the Acilian cross-roads' (*in compito Acilio*). His original connection with the *gens* may, however, have been no

⁹⁷ Plin. *HN* 29.12, following Cassius Hemina. Remains of the *compitum*, sanctuary, and altar were discovered in 1932, allowing it to be located just south of the point where the current *via dei Fori Imperiali* and *clivo di Acilio* meet. It appears to have been buried during levelling work for the construction of the *Domus Aurea*. See Dondin-Payre (1987), esp. 106 and n. 34.



Fig. 9a. Obverse of denarius of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius featuring PIETAS (81 BC) (App. 3, no. 37).

more than topographical and arbitrary. The particular aspect of the divine quality relevant to the commemoration of an ancestor is marked by the reverse type, but a potential contemporary viewer could also have drawn upon *another* meaning of SALUS (SALVATION) in terms of an expected Caesarian victory. The meaning is in this instance latent rather than explicitly marked by another element of the imagery. The suggestion is Crawford's.⁹⁸ The speculations of a modern numismatist cannot of course be taken as evidence for ancient readings, but it does not seem unlikely that many of the readings that can now be discerned could also have formed potential interpretations at the time of the coin's circulation.

All the surviving Republican depictions of PIETAS on coins appear to focus particularly upon filial PIETAS. PIETAS' stork, for example, was seen on denarii of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius (no. 37, Fig. 9a). The bird was a suitable companion for PIETAS because it cares for its parents in old age. Filial PIETAS seems to be emphasized rather than PIETAS *erga deos*, which was perhaps cued by sacrificial vessels such as the *patera*, which are attributes of the goddess on imperial coinage, although by this time attributes of one divine quality were often portrayed with another. Metellus' choice seems linked to the behaviour that won him his *cognomen*, which was gained for his PIETAS in

⁹⁸ Crawford (1974), i 461.



Fig. 9b. Denarius of M. Herennius featuring *PIETAS* (108/7 BC) (App. 3, no. 36).

securing the restoration of his father from exile.⁹⁹ The same aspect of *PIETAS* had been explicitly alluded to on the first extant numismatic representation of this particular divine quality, a coin of M. Herennius, from 108/7 (no. 36: Fig. 9b). *PIETAS* is here identified by legend, and the aspect of the divine quality to which particular attention is drawn is made clear not by an attribute but by the reverse image. It is generally held to have been taken from a local tradition of Catana, in Sicily, and to portray one of two brothers, Amphinomus or Anapias, saving his parents from lava after the eruption of Mount Etna by carrying them, Aeneas-like, on his shoulders. Evans believes it to be rather the first figural representation of Aeneas himself. No specific reason for the introduction of this type can be isolated. Leaving aside increasingly discredited speculation on the moneyer's possible Sicilian origins, suggested interpretations include Classen's that reference was being made to the death of Herennius Siculus, emphasizing his piety, and Evans' speculation

⁹⁹ Stork: e.g. Pl. *Alc.* i.135^c; Arist. *Hist. an.* 9.13; Petron. *Sat.* 55 quoting, or more probably parodying, Publilius Syrus, and describing the stork as *PIETATICULTRIX* ('one who cares for *PIETAS*'); Plin. *HN* 10.63. For *PIETAS* portrayed veiled, by an altar, with *patera* and sceptre, see e.g. *RIC* ii 251, no. 104 from 103–11 AD. Metellus' restoration: Cic. *Planc.* 69; *Red. sen.* 37; *Red. pop.* 6.



Fig. 10. Denarius serratus of M' Aquillius featuring VIRTUS (71 BC) (App. 3, no. 11).

that, in the context of other coin issues before the Social War, Herennius was stressing 'the impiety of attempts to break alliances with Rome',¹⁰⁰ We cannot hope to know what Herennius had in mind. Once again, however, although the range of options raised in modern scholarship is unlikely to map precisely onto those available to coin users in the second and first centuries, it may well give a flavour of the possibilities—particularly, perhaps, in the variety of interpretations made.

M' Aquillius was Marius' legate in the war against the Cimbri, his consular colleague in 101, and was responsible for ending the Sicilian slave revolt. His homonymous descendant chose to portray VIRTUS on a denarius of 71 (no. 11: Fig. 10). Weinstock believes that the decision not only commemorated the VIRTUS of his relative, who had ended the slave revolt, but may also be explained more specifically by that relative's involvement in the building of the Marian temple to

¹⁰⁰ Catanaean brothers: e.g. *Aetna* 603, *RRC* 511/3, Strabo 6.2.3, Paus. 10.28.4 (and see Goodyear (1965), 207–8 for further refs); Aeneas: Evans (1992), 37–9; Sicilian origins: e.g. Weinstock (1971), 250–1, countered by Crawford (1974), i 318, who explains the choice through the status of the story of the Catanaean brothers as a 'well-known example of *pietas* in action', and Evans (1992), 37 n. 11; death of Herennius Siculus: Val. Max. 9.12.6, with e.g. Classen (1986), 265–6; impiety of breaking alliances: Evans (1992), 39, with some confused chronology.



Fig. 11. Denarius serratus of Calenus and Cordus featuring HONOS and VIRTUS (70 BC?) (App. 3, no. 12).

VIRTUS and HONOS.¹⁰¹ There is an obvious circularity in drawing inferences about a moneyer, which cannot be otherwise substantiated, on the basis of a coin image and in then using these inferences to explain the coin type. No direct involvement with the construction of the temple can now be proved. It does not seem unreasonable to conclude that the elder Aquillius was a Marian supporter, but there is perhaps a certain irony in his descendant commemorating an ancestor's VIRTUS, given the way in which Marius, the *novus homo*, is presented—at least by Sallust—as achieving his first consular office by emphasizing a reading of VIRTUS that famously relied not upon *imagines* and achievements of ancestors, but rather one's own actions. It was at Syracuse that Marcellus had renewed his vow to build a temple to VIRTUS, and one might equally hypothesize a connection with Sicily as battleground.¹⁰²

The denarius of Calenus and Cordus, dated to c.70 by Crawford (no. 12, Fig. 11), featured the jugate heads of HONOS and VIRTUS on the obverse, and Roma and Italia on the reverse. Crawford identifies Calenus with the consul of 47, a *novus homo*, and Cordus with P. Mucius Scaevola, *pontifex* from 69. The reverse type he then

¹⁰¹ Weinstock (1971), 231. See also Holliday (2002), 116–17.

¹⁰² Ch. 2 n. 125. A renewal of the vow is assumed in order to obviate the difficulty caused by Cicero ascribing the vow to Syracuse and not Clastidium.

associates with the Social War, while the choice of obverse is linked with Calenus' status as *novus homo* and—through Scaevola's assumption of the cognomen Cordus—with Scaevola's wish to identify himself with the legendary would-be assassin of Porsinna.¹⁰³ If this interpretation is correct, then Marius' appropriation of *VIRTUS* both on the battlefield and in the discursive field, together with his provision of a new home for the deities in Rome on the Velian hill, might be seen to have made these military *and* political readings of *HONOS* and *VIRTUS* available to Calenus and Scaevola in numismatic form. A simpler connection has been made between Mucius, architect of Marius' temple, and Q. Mucius Scaevola, augur (Richardson), or a client of his (Münzer). On these interpretations the commemoration would be again directly linked to the temple.¹⁰⁴

Exceptions?

Nearly all the qualities that featured as figures on Republican coins received cult, as we have seen, in the city of Rome. The small number of possible exceptions all date to the 40s. One apparent anomaly is *VALETUDO*, who appears in the image of Greek *HYGIEIA* on the denarius of M' Acilius (no. 41) discussed above. Those who argue for the existence of such a cult in the city do so in large part on the basis of this coin, and of the *gens Acilia*'s possible connection with the introduction of medicine to Rome.¹⁰⁵ The coin itself clearly cannot be used as evidence here. There is little independent evidence that *VALETUDO* received public cult in the city, unless Petronius' mention in the *Satyricon* of *BONA MENS* and *VALETUDO* [on the Capitol] is read, as it has sometimes been, as a reference to an actual shrine (*ac ne BONAM quidem MENTEM aut BONAM VALETUDINEM*

¹⁰³ Crawford (1974), i 413, commenting on the Livian version of the story being 'redolent with the themes of *honos* and *virtus*' (Livy 2.12.15: '[Mucius] said, "since there is a certain *HONOS* for *VIRTUS* in you . . .")' (*'Quando quidem', inquit, 'est apud te VIRTUTI HONOS . . .'*)).

¹⁰⁴ Richardson (1978*b*), 245–6, hypothesizing a slip in *praenomen* initial from Q. to P. by Vitruvius or a copyist; Münzer, *RE* 16 (1935), 414. Richard (1963), 313–15 proposes an alternative reading, dating the coins to after 67 and associating them with Pompey's *HONOS*, *VIRTUS*, and *FELICITAS*.

¹⁰⁵ See Prosperi Valentini (1998), 51–60 for a summary of earlier opinions on this matter. Dondin-Payre (1987), 104–8 provides the most detailed exposition of the *Acilii* and this coin.

petunt, sed statim antequam limen [Capitolii] tangant, alius donum promittit, si propinquum divitem extulerit, alius, si thesaurum effoderit, alius si ad trecenties sestertium salvus pervenerit; ‘men do not now even seek BONA MENS and VALETUDO, but even before they set foot on the threshold [of the Capitolium] one promises a gift if he can carry his rich relation out for burial, another if he can dig up treasure, yet another if he can reach the thirty million mark unharmed’). The allusion forms part of Eumolpus’ explanation to Encolpius of the reasons for decline in the noble arts, including painting. The passage cannot constitute absolute proof of cult in Rome, particularly given uncertainty about the authenticity of ‘Capitolii’ in the manuscript tradition. It is nonetheless at the very least suggestive to find this pairing in a discussion of moral decline, in which Iuppiter, the Capitol, and values that did receive cult in the city are unquestionably prominent (not only VIRTUS, but MENS, in close proximity to VALETUDO in the passage, and topographically close to Iuppiter). VALETUDO is known, moreover, to have been worshipped elsewhere in Italy (as, later, in the provinces), and Nigidius Figulus included ‘VALITUDO’ among the gods in a work (*de Diis*, ‘On the gods’) written around the time the coin was issued. Thus, although it is impossible to assert conclusively that VALETUDO ever had a cult location in Rome itself, it appears very likely both that the figures represented on the coin were intended to be recognized as divine qualities and that they were so recognized.¹⁰⁶

PAX is another possible exception, since she appears on a coin of 44 (no. 34) and there is likewise no independent evidence of her worship under the Republic.¹⁰⁷ Temples of a number of new, or newly

¹⁰⁶ Petron. *Sat.* 88.6–9, so interpreted e.g. by Jordan and Lugli, and, most recently, Gasperini (1987), 139 n. 14. Cult locations of VALETUDO explored in e.g. Rolland (1955), Gasperini (1987), and esp. Prosperini Valentini (1998). Nigidius Figulus, p. 90 Swoboda (1964). *Against* the existence of a cult site in Rome, and particularly against such an interpretation of the Petronius passage, Letta (1996), 337 and 338 n. 65, arguing that the figures represented on the coin are not deities but ‘allegorical figures’; *for* the probable existence of a cult location somewhere in Rome, and indeed the cult’s origin *in* Rome, on other grounds, Prosperi Valentini (1998), 51–60, adducing the inclusion in Nigidius Figulus and rightly noting the dangers of arguing *ex silentio* about the lack of cult site, when comparisons are made e.g. with lack of epigraphic evidence for MENS in Rome.

¹⁰⁷ PAX has also been identified on a denarius of 128, but the identification of her attribute is disputed, and she may well be Iuno Regina (RRC 262/1).

interpreted, qualities were, however, being planned in the 40s, as the decision to build a temple to *CONCORDIA NOVA* in honour of Caesar and particularly to *CLEMENTIA CAESARIS* after Caesar's victories shows.¹⁰⁸ *PAX* might conceivably fit into a similar context, and have been about to receive a temple, although no literary evidence records any such plan.¹⁰⁹ It is difficult to place *trumpus*, identified by legend on *RRC* 472/2 (from 45) in such a context, since there is no reason to believe that *trumpus* ever received cult at Rome. Augustine, indeed, explicitly claims the contrary. Although we would today consider 'triumph' an abstract noun, it had of course a very real manifestation in Roman society. It is perhaps not impossible that such a 'personification' developed by analogy with those of places represented in triumphs, which also featured on Republican coins.¹¹⁰

These three possible anomalies in the posited limitation of numismatic representations of qualities to those receiving cult in the city do not, then, seriously detract from its force: *VALETUDO* was a goddess elsewhere in Italy; *PAX* may have been first given cult under Caesar; while *trumpus* is qualitatively different from the other conditions under consideration and is perhaps best associated with personifications of place. That these 'irregularities' can be explained away, however, does not rule out a more straightforward possibility. The coins

¹⁰⁸ *CONCORDIA NOVA*: Dio Cass. 44.4.5; *CLEMENTIA CAESARIS*: Dio Cass. 44.6.4; App. *B Civ.* 2.106; Plut. *Caes.* 57; *RRC* 480/21 (App. 3, no. 1).

¹⁰⁹ Weinstock (1960) and (1971), 269 argues for Caesar's introduction of the cult of *PAX*; at (1971), 267 he raises the possibility that the female bust on no. 33 (which Crawford finds impossible to identify) is Sullan *PAX*, but the bust with *caduceus* is as likely to be *FELICITAS*.

¹¹⁰ August. *De civ. D.* 4.17. Very little is known of the exact nature of the triumphal paintings and other representations of the Republic. The assumption of e.g. Strong (1929), 58–9 that the 'images of towns' (*oppidorum simulacra*; Livy 37.59.3–5) that followed behind Scipio Asiagenes in his triumph of 188 were 'personifications of conquered cities' of a type already seen in the triumph of Scipio Africanus, can be no more than an assumption, even if a 'just' one (Ostrowski (1990), 45). They might alternatively have been 'panoramic views' (Holliday (2002), 105). The fourteen *nationes* represented by Coponius' statues in the *porticus* of Pompey's theatre might have had models in the triumphal cortège of 61 (Ostrowski (1990), 46, see Plin. *HN* 7.98; 36.41). *ΠΟΜΠΗ* was occasionally depicted in figural form on red-figure Athenian vases, such as that in the New York Metropolitan Museum, inv. no. 25.190. Brendel (1945) proposes that this be identified with a particular procession, that of transporting the statue of Dionysos to the Bukoleion for the rites of the Hieros Gamos.

featuring *PAX* and *triumpus* could attest that Caesar's dictatorship saw the first appearance on coins of 'personifications' of qualities (the phenomenon which developed so massively under the emperors), rather than representations of divine qualities. It was from their previous monopoly of qualities in coin-fields that the new representations would have gained some of their resonance.

As summarizing symbols with divine legitimation, divine qualities began in this period to form a fruitful means of framing and expressing a variety of different numismatic messages. For the moneyers of the Late Republic at least, they were part of their mental map, and 'good to think with', because they belonged, and in some cases had long belonged, to the topographical, temporal, and religious articulation of the city. Exploitation of the coin-field as a resource in which divine qualities, along with many other deities, could be drawn on commemoratively was perhaps itself presided over by *MONETA*. Her temple, which may have been moved around 78 BC, stood in the vicinity of a number of other temples to divine qualities receiving attention in the late second and early first centuries, on the Capitol and in the Forum. Along with the writing of histories and the construction or refurbishment of other monuments, including these temples, numismatic commemoration became a part of continuing attempts to mark out claims. The nature of our evidence makes these claims appear particularly linked to families from the uppermost strata of society in these years. Once divine qualities had been capitalized upon in these ways, however, the resources also became accessible to others—whether those handling the coins or those coming into contact with the temples and statues, like the person alleged to have scratched witty graffiti on Opimius' temple to *CONCORDIA*.

On the Civic Stage

To dedicate a temple to an abstract deity was of course to make a public affirmation of the importance of that particular quality. But if cult has any meaning the worship implied that a supernatural power was interested in a particular kind of behaviour, and would help to make it prevail among its worshippers. Moreover, worship of moral abstractions could not logically limit itself to ritual: respect for the deity had to be shown in behaviour also. A man who wished to honour *Libertas* ought to uphold the republican constitution. A statue of *Concordia* in the senate house could be expected to restrain the aggressiveness of the speakers.

Liebeschuetz (1979), 52

CONTINUING INTERACTIONS

Long after their creation, the foundations and refoundations so far discussed continued to serve as *loci* and *foci* for the articulation of a number of different messages. Members of the populace or visitors to the city came into contact with temples, statues, and other representations of divine qualities in a variety of ways: through their rites and festivals, in senate meetings taking place in some of their temples, by visiting other temples that served as repositories or ‘museums’ for the display of art work gained through conquest (or by ordering those displays), or through awareness of the prodigies that occurred throughout the Republican period involving their temples and

statues. Surviving dedications to divine qualities moreover provide some glimpses of individuals in Rome and elsewhere who venerated divine qualities and of the capacities in which they did so. Taken together, these interactions show that Liebeschuetz's formulation (above) is too simplistic.

Detailed evidence about the formal rites carried out to divine qualities and about those people who participated in them is frustratingly scant. Ovid's *Fasti* is a potentially fascinating source, although as a highly inventive, varied, and creative work of literary exegesis by an Augustan poet, it naturally does not reflect the rituals in any straightforward way.¹ The dates of most of the annual festivals of divine qualities fall, however, in the second half of the year, which is not encompassed by what survives of this work: only two FORTUNAE PUBLICAE and the festivals of FORTUNA VIRILIS, FORTUNA, FORS FORTUNA, and MENS are included.² The entries for two festivals of FORTUNA PUBLICA in particular are very brief. Treated at greatest length is the *dies natalis* of the old temple of FORTUNA in the Forum Boarium, which gave Ovid an opportunity to tell the story of Tullia's murder of her father, king Servius Tullius. The festival of FORS FORTUNA also provided the poet with scope for a joyous account of the celebrations on the Tiber, in which the lower classes at least took part.³

Ovid's discussion of MENS was still couched, around 200 years after the first foundation, in terms of the opposition to Hannibal that originally occasioned the vow and dedication:

¹ Scheid (1992), esp. 122–9, provides a superb elucidation of the 'clever and subtle' games of exegesis which the *Fasti* play, and of the manifold starting points available for creative exegesis of this kind.

² Ov. *Fast.* 4.145–50 (FORTUNA VIRILIS); 4.375–6, 5.729–30 (FORTUNAE PUBLICAE); 6.569–636 (FORTUNA); 6.773–84 (FORS FORTUNA); 6.241–8 (MENS). CONCORDIA also features a number of times in the work: 1.637–50, 2.631–2, 3.881, 6.91–6, 6.637–48.

³ Billington (1996) argues, *pace* Champeaux, that Ovid's account does not imply that only the lower classes participated in the *descensio*. Despite her misunderstanding of the word *Quirites* (136), she argues persuasively that Cicero referred to the festival in terms that imply that he was 'fully conversant' with it (138) and expected his readers to be so as well, and, by implication, perhaps expected them to have participated in it themselves (*Fin.* 5.70: 'Who has experienced as much joy from the trip down the Tiber on the festival day as did Lucius Paulus when he was sailing up that same river, bringing a captive King Perseus?' *Quem Tiberina descensio festo illo die tanto gaudio affecti quanto L. Paulum, cum regem Persem captum adduceret, eodem flumine invectioni?*).

*MENS quoque numen habet. MENTIS delubra videmus
vota metu belli, perfide Poene, tui.
Poene, rebellaras, et leto consulis omnes
attoniti Mauras pertimuerunt manus.
SPEM metus expulerat, cum MENTI vota senatus
suscipit, et melior protinus illa venit.*⁴

MENS too has its divinity. We see that a temple was vowed to MENS in the fear generated by your war, *perfidious* Punic. You waged war again, Punic, and, with the death of the consul, all were astonished and greatly feared the Moorish bands. Fear had driven out SPES, when the senate undertook vows to MENS, and immediately she came, better inclined.

Without underestimating the literary choices and inventiveness of the *Fasti*, it is interesting to note that the temple could still bring to mind the historical circumstances of its foundation and MENS' connection with the war against Carthage. Beard has proposed that a continual capacity to produce histories and aetiologies was essential for a festival's survival. Although the very presence of an entry in the *Fasti* might imply that the rites to MENS were still carried out in Ovid's day, it is initially tempting to conclude that his choice of explanation suggests that this divine quality was only found relevant in similar situations of external conflict, such as that in which the temple in Rome was refounded in the late second century.⁵ This supposition is at first sight supported by the lack of epigraphic evidence for dedications to MENS in the city of Rome, but as we shall see later, other evidence makes for a more complex picture.

Lind, although admitting that he had found 'no evidence to disprove such a supposition', finds it 'odd to imagine the altar of *Honos*, let us say, or *Concordia* dripping with the blood of slaughtered victims'. Such a view appears symptomatic of a more widespread and misguided unwillingness to accept divine qualities as deities with cults like any other in Rome in certain, fundamental respects. Scattered references confirm that divine qualities did receive sacrifice, and in some cases not

⁴ Ov. *Fast.* 6.241–6.

⁵ Beard (1987), but see pp. 201–4 below. Furthermore, if August. *De civ. D.* 4.21 and 7.3 do go back to a Varronian formulation, it would appear that in the late Republic Varro was able to categorize MENS in Rome as one of the many gods deemed relevant to the development of children (or possibly slaves). This does not, of course, necessarily tell us anything about practice in his lifetime.

just annually on the *dies natalis*.⁶ The *acta Arvalium* make it clear that in the first century AD, at least, cows were sacrificed to SALUS, CONCORDIA, HONOS, SPES, FELICITAS, and VICTORIA.⁷ Livy, moreover, tells us that in March of 176 Q. Petilius sacrificed an ox to Iuppiter upon entering office as consul, and found that his victim had no lobe in its liver; he sacrificed another three oxen and still failed to achieve the desired omens. When this was reported to the senate, Livy claims, Petilius was ordered to complete his sacrifice using full-grown victims, but although the consuls' other sacrifices were favourable, Petilius' to SALUS never obtained favourable omens. The introduction of SALUS to the account may seem surprising, given that the sacrifice was originally to Iuppiter, and Livy's placing of this clearly highly unfavourable omen immediately before the drawing of the lots for the provinces is surely deliberate.⁸ Two explanations are possible. Either we must infer a step in the chain omitted in Livy's narrative, namely that the senate might have ordered the sacrifice to SALUS when things started to go wrong. On this interpretation, that of Beard, North, and Price, the passage would serve to illustrate one occasion upon which, and one circumstance in which, such a sacrifice was thought appropriate and important. The expenditure of full-grown animals and willingness to repeat the sacrifice in the hope of obtaining the requisite omen suggest as much, even if the second interpretation is correct, namely Scheid's that the consular sacrifices in the new year were always made in the Republic to the Capitoline triad and to SALUS.⁹

⁶ Lind (1973), 117; Bailey (1932), 136, too, remarks that, 'in spite of cult-statues, by which they were represented in their temples, it cannot have been easy to think of "Hope" or "Concord" or "Faith" as existing in a human form in the same way as Mars and Iuno and Minerva were conceived'.

⁷ e.g. *CIL* VI 2040–4, 2051, and 2060 (= Scheid (1998), nos. 26–30, 40, 49), from AD 58–81.

⁸ Livy 41.15.4: *ceteris diis perlitatum ferunt; SALUTI Petilium perlitasse negant. inde consules praetoresque provincias sortiti* ('They say that all the other sacrifices achieved favourable omens, but deny that Petilius' to SALUS ever did. Then the consuls and praetors drew lots for their provinces'). Levene (1993), 105–7 makes clear the foreshadowing in book 41 of Petilius' death.

⁹ Beard, North, and Price (1998), ii 178; Scheid (1990), 300–2 (see also (2003), 102), on the basis of this passage in Livy. Scheid's deduction is plausible, given parallels with the Arval sacrifices (although he himself rightly emphasizes that these do not necessarily illuminate sacrifices made by the magistrates), but the passage alone cannot conclusively prove that his is the correct interpretation.

The existence of cults of *SALVS PVBLICA POPVLI ROMANI* and of *VICTORIA* in Rome appear to have provided 'outsiders' with an important means of associating themselves with a perceived community, by shared sacrifice. According to Livy again, after the recapture of Capua in 211 only two Campanians were considered worthy of reward for their actions during the time of the city's defection to Hannibal. Both were women. One had supplied food in secret to needy captives. The other was one Vestia Oppia from Atella, who lived in Capua and was said successfully to have proved her loyalty to Rome because she sacrificed every day *PRO SALUTE ET VICTORIA POPVLI ROMANI* ('for *SALVS* and *VICTORIA* of the Roman people').¹⁰ Livy's description does more than show Oppia's continued adherence to Rome; it draws her into the framework of actions of men frequently presented in the Republican period as *exempla* of 'what Rome stood for', such as those, like the Decii, who were reputed to have devoted their own lives to ensure victory for Romans in battle. Cicero, too, drew on such an example, in his *pro Sestio*, when defending his own conduct in dealing with Clodius by emphasizing his consciousness of coming from the same city (Rome) as did P. Decius Mus and his descendants, whom he equated in terms of *VIRTUS*. These were men who devoted themselves and their lives, in Cicero's words, *pro SALUTE POPVLI ROMANI VICTORIAQUE* ('for *SALVS* and *VICTORIA* of the Roman people').¹¹

Dionysius of Halicarnassus speaks of sacrifices to *VICTORIA*, which were carried out in Rome, in the precinct of *VICTORIA*, lasting throughout the year. He claims the Romans performed these 'even in my time'.¹² He does not provide further details about these sacrifices, but suggests that they were public and more frequent than the annual festival on the temple's *dies natalis* of 1 August.¹³ At the very least the rites to which Dionysius alludes, in a work that of

¹⁰ Livy 26.33.8.

¹¹ Cic. *Sest.* 48: *ex qua P. Decius primum pater, post aliquot annos patria VIRTUTE praeditus filius se ac vitam suam instructa acie pro SALUTE POPVLI ROMANI VICTORIA que devovisset* ('from where [Rome] P. Decius père, and some years later his son, endowed with paternal *VIRTUS*, had devoted themselves and their lives, having drawn up their battle-lines, for *SALVS POPVLI ROMANI* and *VICTORIA*'). Cf. Cic. *Deiot.* 11 and Sall. *Hist.* 2.47.9–10 (Cotta). See Livy 22.37.5–12, with Levene (1993), 48–9, on Hiero of Syracuse's gift in 216 of a golden *VICTORIA*, dedicated on the Capitol.

¹² Dion. Hal. 1.32.5.

¹³ *Kal. Ant.* = *ILLRP* 9.

course aimed to prove that Romans were really Greeks, were *presented* as having lasted since time immemorial, allowing him to connect the foundation with Evander and the Arcadians.¹⁴ Dionysius makes a similar comment, through the mouth of Appius Claudius Sabinus, about sacrifices having been made throughout the year in the past to *FIDES*, at the temple where annual sacrifices had been instituted by οἱ πατέρες ('the ancestors').¹⁵ *HONOS*, too, is attested as receiving sacrifice by Plutarch, although his enquiry does not specify precisely who carried out such a rite.¹⁶ His hypothesis, whatever its source and factual basis,¹⁷ is interesting in terms of the link it forges between *HONOS* and men who embody τιμή. Associating behaviour towards those possessing a (divine) quality with behaviour towards the divine quality in ritual, in however inexplicit a manner, is highly suggestive in terms of connections that might have been claimed between divine qualities and their temple founders or worshippers.

The ritual involving *FIDES*, of which a more detailed description is given by Livy, appears to draw upon similar kinds of associations. According to Livy's narrative, Numa established the worship of *FIDES*

¹⁴ By Augustan times at least, when Dionysius was writing, the temple of *VICTORIA* could be alleged to date back to Evander and his Arcadians. See Wiseman (1981) on Dion. Hal. 1.32.3–1.33.1.

¹⁵ Dion. Hal. 5.68.4, where Appius is made to draw upon the temple and sacrifice given to *FIDES* in his argument against debt-abolition in the face of threatened refusal to fight by those affected. See D'Arco (1998), 48 n. 105.

¹⁶ Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 13, seeks the reason why the Romans sacrifice to *HONOS* bareheaded: 'Διὰ τί καὶ τῷ λεγομένῳ ὄΝΩΡΕΙ θύουσιν ἀπαρακαλύπτῳ τῇ κεφαλῇ; τὸν δὲ ὄΝΩΡΕΜ δόξαν ἂν τις ἢ τιμὴν μεθερμηνεύσειε? Πότερον διότι λαμπρὸν ἢ δόξα καὶ περιφανὲς καὶ ἀναπεπταμένον, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ τιμωμένοις ἀνδράσιν ἀποκαλύπτονται, διὰ ταύτην καὶ τὸν ἐπώνυμον τῆς τιμῆς θεὸν οὕτω προσκυνοῦσιν; ('Why do they also sacrifice to the god called *HONOS* with head uncovered? One might translate *HONOS* as "renown" or "honour". Is it because renown is a brilliant thing, conspicuous and widespread, and for the reason that they uncover in the presence of good and honoured men they also worship the god who is named for "honour"?'), tr. Babbitt (Loeb), very slightly adapted.

¹⁷ Rose (1924), 174 claims that the sacrifice was carried out *Graeco ritu*, under the Greek influence on the worship of 'abstractions'. De Sanctis (1953–7), 303, emphasizing the lack of Greek equivalent for the divinity *HONOS*, follows a line closer to Plutarch's hypothesis, and claims that such a method of sacrificing was not 'to imitate Greek practices, but to show how real honour rules out infringements and hypocritical acts'. Cf. Petron. *Sat.* 57.5: *homo inter homines sum, capite aperto ambulo...* ('I am a man among men, I walk with my head uncovered'), and Varro *Ling.* 5.73, discussed further below.

and *ad id sacrarium flamines bigis curru arcuato vehi iussit, manumque ad digitos usque involuta rem divinam facere, significantes FIDEM tutandam sedemque eius etiam in dexteris sacramentum esse* ('ordered the *flamines* to go to that shrine in a covered two-horse chariot, and to perform the rites with their hands covered as far as the fingers, to signify that *FIDES* had to be kept safe and even in men's right hands its/her seat was sacred').¹⁸ The veiling of the *flamines'* hands deserves further consideration.¹⁹ The possibility that the statue itself might have been veiled, or had its right hand shrouded in cloth, at least during the ritual in question, is raised by Horace's description of *FIDES* as *albo rara FIDES...velata panno* ('rare *FIDES*,...with hand bound in white cloth').²⁰ As Perret has shown, however, Horace deliberately undermines *FIDES* in this Ode. He may here allude to the rite described by Livy but also draw on a more pejorative meaning of *velata* ('bound').²¹ The question of the veiling of *FIDES'* statue must therefore remain open, since no extant ancient source specifically refers to the cult statue of the temple of *FIDES* on the Capitol. A passage of Valerius Maximus may, however, convincingly be interpreted to suggest that the statue held out its right hand.²² The attention drawn to the *dextera*, which was sacred to *FIDES*,²³ in making

¹⁸ Livy 1.21.4; Serv. *Aen.* 1.292 specifies that the cloth was white (*canam...FIDEM dixit...quod ei albo panno involuta manu sacrificatur, per quod ostendit(ur?) FIDEM debere esse secretam* ('he said that *FIDES* was white...because it was sacrificed to with the hand wrapped in a white cloth, through which it is shown that *FIDES* must be secret').

¹⁹ Participation of *flamines* and antiquity of the cult are discussed in Ch. 2. On all aspects of this action, see Freyburger (1986), esp. 251–8. Parallels to the veiling of the hands of the *flamines* may be found, both in Rome itself (SHA *Aurel.* 19.6 suggests that the *quindecimviri* only touched the Sibylline books *velatis manibus* ('with hands enveloped'), and in Umbria, where the action is connected with deities associated with oaths (one of the *tabulae Iguvinae* (VI b.4) contains the phrase *mandraclo difue destre habitu*). See Boyancé (1972), 122; Devoto (1937), 218 translates *mandraclo* as *mantele bifidum*.

²⁰ Hor. *Carm.* 1.35.21–2.

²¹ Perret (1970), esp. 250: '*Velata* calls to mind the ritual of *FIDES*, but also draws attention to the disguise under which are hidden the feelings that cannot be owned'.

²² Val. Max. 6.6 praef. See Reusser (1993), 86–103 and fig. 40; Boyancé (1972) 123 and *passim*.

²³ Serv. *Aen.* 3.607–8: 'Doctors say that individual parts of the body have been consecrated to *numina*, like the ear to *MEMORIA*...the forehead to *GENIUS*...the right hand to *FIDES*...the knee to *MISERICORDIA*' (*Physici dicunt esse consecratas numinibus singulas corporis partes, ut aurem MEMORIAE...frontem GENIO...*

treaties, swearing oaths, and veiling the *flamines'* (right?) hands during the rite, creates a series of physical practices and images. The statue itself, if its right arm (veiled or not) was held out prominently, constituted one visible and permanent image in that series—a visual reminder that the divine quality was revered in the city and associated with actions carried out in the name of *FIDES*. On one level, then, *FIDES'* temple, statue, and cult in Rome constituted elements in a developing discourse on the importance of *FIDES* and of respecting such actions, precisely because they could be drawn upon to justify such ideas. With the growing role of Romans on a broader geographical stage from the third century, this discourse necessarily included (and in part developed through) interactions with other peoples. Perhaps the best-known example is Polybius' explanation of the Aetolian decision to commit themselves into the *FIDES/PISTIS* of the Romans in 191, and of the high-handed manner in which Glabrio treated them, although they had thought that the presence of '*FIDES*' in their *deditio in FIDEM* would earn them clemency.²⁴ To talk about the importance of such discourse and to see the cult of *FIDES* as an element in that discourse is, however, not the same as suggesting that the existence of the cult made 'the Romans' uniformly strict in the keeping of oaths and treaties.²⁵ The following episode provides one of many illustrations of this point.

On the day on which Tiberius Gracchus was murdered, the senate met in the temple of *FIDES*, while Gracchus occupied the area outside that of Iuppiter Capitolinus. Freyburger suggests that these actions should be read in the following way:

The senators took the no doubt considerable risk of meeting in the temple of Fides. . . . The aim could only be to proclaim the legitimacy of their action in

dexteram FIDEI... genua MISERICORDIAE); cf. also Plin. *HN* 11.250: 'there's a certain sanctity in other parts [of the body], such as in the right hand, the back of which is seized to kiss, and which is held out in *FIDES*' (*inest et aliis partibus quaedam religio, sicut in dextera: oculis aversa adpetitur, in FIDE porrigitur*). Boyancé (1972), 121 suggests Varro as source for both; see also Freyburger (1986), 236.

²⁴ Polyb. 20.9–10 (cf. Livy 36.27), with Picard (1962), Freyburger (1982), and Gruen (1982).

²⁵ Ch.1 on Freyburger's acceptance of the 'instinctive repugnance' felt by Romans in respect of ambush and treason.

an eye-catching way: the senate respected the good faith owed to Jupiter . . . , whereas the tribune was occupying the chief god's temple by force.²⁶

Freyburger's reading is problematic not only in the sense that Tiberius did not occupy the temple, rather the *area* outside it, which was occasionally used for assemblies, but also because the senate was summoned to the temple of FIDES by Scaevola, whose attitude to Tiberius Gracchus was much more cautious than that of Nasica. What is interesting in surviving accounts of this episode, I would suggest, is rather the way in which Nasica went (in the accounts of Velleius Paterculus and Valerius Maximus), or his supporters followed him (in Plutarch's version) *openly, on foot, away from* the temple of FIDES to the temple of Iuppiter Capitolinus, with toga-end wrapped around his/their left arm(s)/hand(s).²⁷ This was a dramatic reversal of the *flamines'* ritual approach *to* the temple, *concealed, within a carriage* and with veiled (probably) *right* arms, and it culminated in the murder of a tribune, whose body was made sacrosanct by plebeian oath. A close examination of the texts, in other words, hints at the existence of a version in which the respect for FIDES allegedly demonstrated by the group meeting in FIDES' temple was undermined, by reference to the reversal of the rites, and read rather as a violation of all the divine quality stood for.²⁸ As we saw in the previous chapter, diametrically opposed readings were also made of the temple to CONCORDIA that L. Opimius had built in the Forum Romanum after the murder of Gaius Gracchus. The graffiti that Plutarch quotes imply a physical interaction with the

²⁶ Freyburger (1986), 311.

²⁷ Vell. Pat. 2.3: 'Publius Scipio Nasica...with the edge of his toga wrapped around his left forearm' (*P. Scipio Nasica... <cir>cumdata laevo brachio togae lacinia*); Val. Max. 3.2.17: 'and then he wrapped the hem of his left hand and raised his right, proclaiming...' (*ac deinde laevam manum <im>a parte togae circumdedit sublataque dextra proclamavit...*); Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 19.4: 'All the senators who followed him wrapped their togas over their arms' (*ἐκαστος δὲ τῶν ἐπομένων αὐτῷ τῇ χειρὶ τὴν τήβεννον περιελίξας ἑώθει τοὺς ἐμποδῶν...*).

²⁸ Both Nasica's having covered his head with his toga (Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 19.4; App. *B.Civ.* 1.16) and his having wrapped his toga around his left arm (see above) are usually explained by modern commentators (e.g. by Hellegouarc'h (1982) and Elefante (1997), 211, although not by Appian in his potential exegeses) as the *cinctus Gabinus*. Emphasis on covering the left arm/hand, however, fits neither of the definitions of the *cinctus Gabinus* given by Servius (*ad Aen.* 5.755, 7.612). See on this episode Linderski (2002) and my 'Nasica and Fides', *CQ* 57 (2007).

monument, displaying to those reading it a striking statement of a particular reading of *CONCORDIA*, not through mere mindless defacement of the structure, but by an engagement with the divine quality.²⁹

Temples to divine qualities were integrated into public life in a number of ways: (some) people talked about them, and were sufficiently familiar with them and their location in the city to use them as landmarks to locate other buildings. Varro, for example, describes the *Senaculum* as 'where the temple of *CONCORDIA* and the *basilica Opimia* were situated', while Cicero described a statue in terms of its proximity to the temple of *OPS*. Temples were also visited, and engaged with in yet other ways: according to Valerius Maximus, Cicero even claimed to have dreamed, shortly before his recall from exile, about Marius' temple to *HONOS* and *VIRTUS*.³⁰

The temple of *CONCORDIA*, like that of *FIDES*, was sometimes used for senate meetings. Because Cicero rarely evokes such an idea directly, Bonnefond-Coudry reluctantly plays down any ideological message in the selection of such temples for these meetings, with the exception of the meeting in the temple of *HONOS* and *VIRTUS* at which Cicero's recall from exile was voted upon.³¹ The symbolic significance of the sites did not necessarily therefore go unnoticed. After his return, Cicero was indeed able to draw upon the choice of *HONOS* and *VIRTUS*' temple for the issuing of decrees for his recall, and so to describe Clodius' attendance at the games on that occasion as happening when 'in the temple of *VIRTUS* *HONOS* was given to *VIRTUS*' (*in templo VIRTUTIS HONOS habitus esset VIRTUTI*). He thereby associated his own *VIRTUS* with the inhabitant of the temple, and so, implicitly, linked the *HONOS* given to him with the temple's other occupant.³² Practical factors such as size and location were undoubtedly prime considerations in choosing a venue for meetings

²⁹ On the various appropriations of *CONCORDIA* in Roman history, see Levick (1978) and Richard (1963).

³⁰ Varro *Ling.* 5.156; Cic. *Att.* 6.1.17, on which see App. 4; Val. Max. 1.7.5. See Livy 29.14.4 on the black stone of Pessinus being brought in procession to the temple of *VICTORIA* and kept there for thirteen years, with Ch. 2.

³¹ e.g. Bonnefond-Coudry (1989), 90–112, (*CONCORDIA*), 112–15 (*FIDES*), 125–30 (*HONOS* and *VIRTUS*).

³² Cic. *Sest.* 116 and cf. 120. The phrase is impossible to render in English with the full force of the Latin.

of the senate, but the practical and the symbolic do not have to be mutually exclusive.

Dio's account of Calenus' reply to Cicero, in defence of Antony in 43, moreover, shows Calenus engaging directly with the divine quality of the temple in which the debate was taking place. 'Concede a little to this CONCORDIA in whose house we are now deliberating', he implores Cicero.³³ For Bonnefond-Coudry this is the only text where the ideological significance of the meeting place is invoked during the meeting, and she suggests it could be a later addition by Dio.³⁴ Even if this were the case, the evidence is not entirely without value, since Dio was both senator and consul, but it might tell us little about the first century BC. There is, however, contemporary evidence from the Republic of links claimed between a resource and a quality in the senate. Not only does the location of Cicero's fourth Catilinarian oration (the temple of CONCORDIA) add to the resonance of his claim that the *equites* 'have been called back to... CONCORDIA' (*ad... CONCORDIAM... revocatos*), but Cicero in 57 attributed the following motivation to Gaius Cassius for attempting to move a publicly displayed statue of CONCORDIA to the Curia during his censorship in 154 and for dedicating both the statue and the Curia to CONCORDIA: '...he thought that he was ordering that opinions should be delivered without party spirit or dissension, if he bound the place itself and the temple of public counsel by the reverence due to CONCORDIA' (*praescribere... se arbitrabatur, ut sine studiis dissensionis sententiae dicerentur, si sedem ipsam ac templum publici consilii religione CONCORDIAE devinxisset*).³⁵ It must at least have been a plausible motivation for Cicero to attribute to Cassius, that dedicating the senate house to CONCORDIA would make clear his desire for CONCORDIA to be brought to bear on deliberations there, and that the dedication and installation of the visual representation would reinforce the point, as Liebeschuetz suggests in the passage quoted above. Whether or not Calenus did in fact implore Cicero in the words put in his mouth by Dio, an appeal of this nature would thus

³³ Dio Cass. 46.28.3: *χάρισαί τι καὶ τῇ ὁμονοίᾳ ταύτῃ παρ' ἧ νῦν βουλευόμεθα.*

³⁴ Bonnefond-Coudry (1989), 99, a suggestion supported by Dio's use of Demosthenes as a model for the style of Cicero's *Philippic*, on which see Lintott (1997), esp. 2501.

³⁵ Cic. *Cat.* 4.15; Cic. *Dom.* 131, and 130–7 on Cassius' attempt.

appear to be one weapon upon which he could have drawn in those years. If dedicating a statue and the Curia to CONCORDIA was potentially an effective measure, then the temple of CONCORDIA itself was surely open to the same interpretation. The placing of documents and treaties in temples such as those of CONCORDIA or FIDES could have been interpreted by some in a similar way. The copy of a treaty between Rome and Callatis from the first century BC and found at Callatis, for example, orders that the treaty 'be written on a bronze tablet, and that one copy be fastened up at Rome on the Capitol in the best possible place, in the shrine of CONCORDIA, and another at Callatis...' [... in tabulam ahe]nam utei scriberetur [at]q[ue(?)] figeretur Romae in Capitolio loc]o optumo in faano CONCOR[D(IAE), altera Callati - - - proponeretur].³⁶

The passage of *de Domo sua* cited above, however, does not simply demonstrate the plausibility of Calenus' petition in Dio's version. When it is examined in context, it becomes clear that Cicero was putting as positive a gloss as possible on the story of Cassius, in order to draw a starker contrast with the actions of Clodius and his shrine and statue of LIBERTAS.³⁷ It might have had the motivation which Cicero describes, but we also need to ask how effective it would have been, had Cassius been successful. It might well have been a lasting reminder of Cassius' contribution to the promotion of (at least what he understood by) CONCORDIA in the mid-second century. This may itself at least partially explain why Aemilius Lepidus, *pontifex maximus* and *princeps senatus*, told Cassius on behalf of the *pontifices* that his request had to go to the people for approval, for Cassius' interpretation of CONCORDIA would of course have been otherwise regarded by certain senators.³⁸ A further clue to effectiveness, understood again in terms of the motivation attributed by Cicero to Cassius, lies in Cicero's second *Philippic*. This 'speech' illustrates the potential richness of the temple of CONCORDIA as an ideological location, but it also demonstrates that, had Cicero actually delivered it in CONCORDIA's temple, as he purported to be doing in the circulated tract, he would in fact have conceded little to CONCORDIA's

³⁶ ILLRP 516 = CIL I² 2676; see Ch. 4 on allied dedications near the temple of FIDES.

³⁷ On which see Ch. 6 below.

³⁸ D'Arco (1998), 92–6.

presence in terms of the aggressiveness of his speech. Liebeschuetz's reasoning, then, that 'a statue of Concordia in the senate house could be expected to restrain the aggressiveness of the speakers' captures the sense that such a claim could plausibly be made, but fails to take account of how such claims actually operated in public life: as elements in ongoing competition for standing, recognition, and control—both literal and symbolic—of public spaces. The idea that, in Brunt's words, 'cults of . . . Fides or Honor and Virtus had some morally strengthening effect', or, in D'Agostino's considerably less careful formulation, that by 'holding such sublime qualities in the mind's eye [the Romans] felt more impelled to follow the path of beauty, truth, and good in social life' inappropriately *abstracts* divine qualities from their real social contexts, in which our 'religious' and 'political' are inextricably bound together.³⁹

In the third Catilinarian oration, delivered from the *rostra* in front of Opimius' temple of CONCORDIA, Cicero attempted to convince the people that his actions had preserved the city and citizens in safety, unlike cases of civil strife that had ended, 'not in the reconciliation of CONCORDIA' (*non reconciliatone CONCORDIAE*), but in the slaughter of citizens. Morstein-Marx, rightly pointing out the location of the speech, argues that Cicero was attempting to convince those listening that there would be no repetition of the scale of the slaughter that had occurred when Gaius Gracchus and his supporters were killed.⁴⁰ By contrasting the slaughter of citizens with a *reconciliatio CONCORDIAE*, however, Cicero might rather be seen to be contrasting the recent examples he cites (Sulla, Sulpicius, and Marius) with the associations of Opimius' CONCORDIA, and so to be evoking and aligning himself with that CONCORDIA.

In the *Philippics* in which he spoke, or purported to speak, from the temple of CONCORDIA, Cicero also frequently drew upon recollections of his role in the Catilinarian affair, where he had summoned the senate and examined witnesses in that temple. He played heavily upon the contrast between his own and Antony's actions.⁴¹ These

³⁹ Brunt (1989), 180; D'Agostino (1961), 86. He does concede that 'the Romans' may have exaggerated their exaltation of FIDES, as of other virtues, by attributing it *only* to themselves.

⁴⁰ Cic. *Cat.* 3.25, with Morstein-Marx (2004), 103.

⁴¹ Cic. *Phil.* 2.15; 2.16; 2.19; 3.31; 5.18.

recollections cannot be wholly dissociated from his surroundings on each occasion (and once again, the likelihood that the temple of CONCORDIA was chosen for the Catilinarian debate for practical reasons, such as its proximity to the *carcer* and/or the ease with which it could be surrounded with armed men, does not mean that these practical motives were the only ones in play).⁴²

In the first *Philippic*, in which Cicero's concern was to emphasize the difference between Antony's actions at the senate meeting immediately after the murder of Caesar and those at the meeting of 1 June 44, he used as a weapon against Antony the speech the latter had made 'on CONCORDIA' at the earlier meeting.⁴³ In the second, he presented himself as a constant advocate of CONCORDIA,⁴⁴ and emphasized the enormity of Antony's actions, either by underlining his supposed location (*in eo templo... in quo ego senatum illum... consulebam* ('in that temple... in which I myself was consulting the senate...')); *in hoc templo* ('in this temple')) or exegetically, by recalling what had previously happened in the temple into which Antony was now sending armed men ('in this *cella* of CONCORDIA, immortal gods! in which, when I was consul, salutary opinions were given, thanks to which we have survived to this day' (*in hac cella CONCORDIAE, di immortales! in qua me consule salutare sententiae dictae sunt, quibus ad hanc diem viximus...*)).⁴⁵ In the third *Philippic*, he again juxtaposed *armatos* ('armed men') with *in cella CONCORDIAE* ('in CONCORDIA's *cella*'), to emphasize the outrageous nature of invading CONCORDIA's space with armed men.⁴⁶

Addressing Antony later in the second oration he asked, in the third of an anaphoric sequence on *cur*, 'why do CONCORDIA's doors not stand open?' (*cur valvae CONCORDIAE non patent?*)⁴⁷ The first two questions in the sequence ask why the senate is being surrounded by a cordon of armed men and why Antony's satellites are listening to Cicero sword in hand. The temple doors might have been closed for secrecy, but by this phrasing, and by naming the divine quality to

⁴² *pace* Richardson (1978a), 265, opting for 'practical' explanations.

⁴³ Cic. *Phil.* 1.31: 'what a speech he gave about CONCORDIA!' (*quae fuit oratio de CONCORDIA!*).

⁴⁴ *ibid.* 2.24: 'I did not cease to be a promoter of peace, of CONCORDIA, of an agreement' (*pacis, CONCORDIAE, compositionis auctor esse non destiti*). See also 1.23.

⁴⁵ *ibid.* 2.15, 16, 19.

⁴⁶ *ibid.* 3.31.

⁴⁷ *ibid.* 2.112.

which the temple was dedicated, Cicero suggests that Antony is cutting himself off from the Roman people and shutting out the possibility of *CONCORDIA*. In the fifth oration this incident is referred to again, in a passage worth quoting in full:

What was most repulsive not only to the eye, but also the ear, was that armed men, thieves, and assassins were being stationed in *CONCORDIA*'s *cella*, that the temple was being made a prison, that *CONCORDIA*'s doors were closed, that the senators were giving their opinions while robbers were standing among the senate's benches.

*Illud vero taeterrimum non modo aspectu, sed etiam auditu, in cella CONCORDIAE conlocari armatos, latrones, sicarios, de templo carcerem fieri, opertis valvis CONCORDIAE, cum inter subsellia senatus versarentur latrones, patres conscriptos sententias dicere.*⁴⁸

Here two senses are called into play: sight and hearing. The very mention of *aspectus* ('sight') helps to reawaken the audience's visual memory. Although this speech was delivered in the temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, the proximity of the two temples would have made a gesture in the right direction easy, particularly as Cicero had already referred to the temple of *CONCORDIA* in the preceding lines. The juxtaposition of *templo* with *carcerem* is noteworthy, as is 'surrounding' the temple in the sentence itself by *latrones*. The temple of *CONCORDIA* was in close physical proximity to the *carcer*, but the two words should not occur together in reference to the same building. Cicero underlines how Antony had turned conventions upside down.

Associations of this kind could be made not only through the physical presence of temples of divine qualities in the city, but also through their festivals in the annual calendar. When Cicero returned to Italy from exile in 57, he reached Brundisium on 5 August. This date was Tullia's birthday, the anniversary of the *colonia* at Brundisium, and the *dies natalis* (dedication day, and hence festival day) of the temple of *SALUS* on the Quirinal. Cicero pointed out this fact both in a letter to Atticus and in his defence of Sestius. In the speech, he remarked to the jurors that the *natalis* was that of 'my dearest daughter...and of the colony of Brundisium itself, and also, as you know, of the temple of *SALUS*' (*carissimae filiae...etiam ipsius coloniae Brundisinae, idem ut scitis, aedis SALUTIS*).⁴⁹ Although he

⁴⁸ Cic. *Phil.* 5.18.

⁴⁹ Cic. *Sest.* 131.

provides no detail about the festival or ritual carried out on this day, he shows that such a rite was still being carried out at this time and also, significantly, assumes that the members of the jury, at least, would be familiar with the festival and perhaps with its date. When addressing Atticus, he notes that 'by chance it was the birthday both of the colony of Brundisium and of your neighbour SALUS; this coincidence was observed and celebrated with much rejoicing by a crowd of the people of Brundisium' (*casu . . . natalis erat et Brundisinae coloniae et tuae vicinae SALUTIS; quae res animadversa a multitudine summa Brundisinorum gratulatione celebrata est*).⁵⁰ The anniversary of the founding of the temple of SALUS is clearly included among the coincidences noted by the people of Brundisium, suggesting that something was made of this in the ensuing celebrations.⁵¹ SALUS is a key word throughout the *pro Sestio* (as in all the speeches made soon after Cicero's return).⁵² He nowhere explicitly links his own SALUS and that of the *populus Romanus*, for which he claimed to have gone into exile, with the divine quality's protection. The use of *casu* ('by chance') in the letter to Atticus indeed rather suggests that he did not himself consider this to be the case. Cicero does, however, indicate to Atticus that the people of Brundisium drew on the connection, and when addressing the jury in Sestius' trial was himself able to exploit SALUS' participation in the Roman festival calendar in order to associate his SALUS with SALUS PUBLICA POPULI ROMANI QUIRITIUM.

Temples may normally have been shut, except on festival days, and the resident deities hidden from view.⁵³ Nonetheless, certain temples in Rome appear to have been regularly visited for the sake of the art works displayed inside, including three dedicated to divine qualities: FELICITAS, HONOS and VIRTUS, and FORTUNA HUIUSCE DIEI.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Cic. *Att.* 4.1.4.

⁵¹ Scullard (1981), 170 notes the interest of Cicero knowing and recalling the date of the dedication of the temple of SALUS. The connection made by the people of Brundisium is, however, even more worthy of note.

⁵² Cf. Cic. *Sest.* 1, 4, 5, 9, 12, 14, 15 (x2), 26, 27, 31, 32, 33, 37, 38, 39, 45, 48, 50, 67, 71, 125, 128 (x3), 130, 131, and 144 (x2).

⁵³ Beard, North, and Price (1998), ii 78; Stambaugh (1978), 575–6 with some evidence for this contention. See esp. Varro *Rust.* 1.2.1–2 and Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 46.

⁵⁴ FELICITAS in the Velabrum (Cic. *Verr.* 4.4); Marcellus' to HONOS and VIRTUS outside the Porta Capena (Livy 25.40.1–3); Catulus' to FORTUNA HUIUSCE DIEI (Plin. *HN* 34.54, 34.60).

Cicero encourages those who have not enriched themselves with treasures as (he claims) Verres has, to visit the temple of FELICITAS or Catulus' temple to FORTUNA HUIUSCE DIEI to see such works.⁵⁵ Clearly not all classes and categories of the populace would have been able to spare time for such activities, but Cicero's description, in the *de Republica*, of a globe by Archimedes, which had been placed by Marcellus in the temple of VIRTUS, as 'better known among the common people' (*nobilior in vulgus*) than another does seem to strengthen the possibility that such visits were a popular feature of leisure time for more than the élite.⁵⁶ Livy's description of the visits to Marcellus' temple of HONOS and VIRTUS 'by foreigners' (*ab externis*) broadens the potential spectator group further still, with obvious implications in terms of presentation to the outside world: visitors would not only have seen booty representing military prowess, but would have seen it located in temples of deities embodying, on one reading, that very prowess, or other qualities that brought it about. Of the temples of interest in this regard, only the temple of FORTUNA HUIUSCE DIEI still survives in the archaeological record. If the rectangular bases on either side of its porch, which date back to the original construction (around 100) or very soon afterwards, are rightly interpreted as having carried statues, then the visitor might not have needed to enter the temple to see the treasures. A temple such as the later Tiberian reconstruction of CONCORDIA in the Forum, however, seems clearly to have been conceived of as a kind of temple-museum.⁵⁷

The art work associated with such temples was often connected even more closely to the divine quality. As we saw in the previous chapter, the son of the founder of the temple of (Iuppiter) LIBERTAS had a painting made, on his return to Rome, of the feast of 214 after the victory at Beneventum. On that occasion he had granted freedom to his force of slave volunteers. They were depicted wearing the *pileus* or *lana alba* (woollen cap) that signified their LIBERTAS, and the painting was set up in the temple. By this action Gracchus used the space to reinforce further his family's identification with the

⁵⁵ Cic. *Verr.* 4.126.

⁵⁶ Cic. *Rep.* 1.21.

⁵⁷ Livy 25.40.1–3. On Marcellus' temple to HONOS and VIRTUS and its adornment, see also Ch. 2, 'The Punic Wars'. Tiberian temple: see Kellum (1990).

divine quality, as Glabrio had done with that of *PIETAS*.⁵⁸ He also marked a different aspect of *LIBERTAS* from that probably emphasized by his father: freedom from slavery rather than freedom from oppression. That temples provided spaces in which different aspects of the divine quality could be drawn upon and explored is perhaps most clearly illustrated by a playful instance in which the meaning evoked is not part of the usual semantic field, but rather a homonym. The Elder Pliny mentions a painting in the temple of *FIDES* by Aristides of Thebes, depicting an old man teaching a child to play the lyre. Freyburger suggests that this plays upon the homonym of *FIDES*, meaning 'lyre'.⁵⁹

This ambiguity finds a parallel in the *cognomen* *FIDES* allegedly taken by Trebellius, tribune of the plebs in 47. We do not know whether such a *cognomen*, if really adopted, originally connoted something akin to trust or loyalty, or whether it was a reference to the lyre. Both options have parallels: *PIETAS* and *Sermo* ('Conversation') are attested *cognomina* in the Republic, as are *Bucina* ('Trumpet') and *Fistula* ('Pipe'). Nevertheless, Cicero's references in the *Philippics* make it very clear how people could, and Cicero *did*, interpret its meaning. Trebellius is alleged to have used *FIDES* as an advertisement to the populace when opposing a motion for the abolition of debt. By so doing he exposed himself to attack. In 43 Cicero exclaimed to the people: 'O by *FIDES*! (for I think Trebellius has taken this *cognomen*). What can be greater *FIDES* than defrauding one's creditors...' (O *FIDE*! (*hoc enim opinor Trebellium sumpsisse cognomen*) *quae potest esse maior FIDES quam fraudare creditores...*). His remark has impact because it initially appears an invocation of the divine quality, but is swiftly deflated. In a later *Philippic* he described Trebellius to the senate, too, as 'that patron of *FIDES*, that defrauder of creditors' (*FIDEI patronus, fraudator creditorum*).⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Livy 24.16.19. Koortbojian (2002) considers the painting's appearance and argues convincingly for it being an *exemplum* through which claims were made about 'virtus' and 'Roman-ness'. For a further possible link between the cult of Iuppiter *LIBERTAS* and the freeing of slaves, see below. Glabrio: Ch. 2.

⁵⁹ Plin. *HN* 35.100; Freyburger (1986), 262 and n. 139.

⁶⁰ Corbeill (1996), 82 n. 83 makes the important point about how the *cognomen* could and would be interpreted. Cic. *Phil.* 6.11; 13.26. On *cognomina* in general see Kajanto (1965), esp. 254 and 343 on *FIDES*, Alföldi (1966), esp. 720 and, again on the late Republic, Corbeill (1996), ch. 2. Cicero discusses the value of another 'positive'

Proclaimed associations had to be lived up to, and (if Trebellius did call himself *FIDES*, for which these two passages are our only evidence) the *cognomen* proclaimed an intimate association that was an easy target for attack.

In his etymological work, *de Lingua Latina*, Varro derives *HONOS* from *onus*, drawing on a line from drama as evidence (in fact probably to forge the etymology): *onus est HONOS qui sustinet rem publicam* ('*HONOS* which/who maintains the *res publica* is a burden'). The false etymology is the more interesting because of the inclusion of this dramatic line, which itself suggests that an association between the two concepts could be (and had been) made in front of a theatre audience or audiences. This draws our attention to another kind of wordplay through which associations and claims could be made, one easily understood by spectators.⁶¹

Placing an object such as a portrait statue in or near a temple of a divine quality also presented the viewer with an association of the subject of the portrait and the deity honoured at the temple. Not only the temple founder, but other citizens, or descendants of the founder, could be visually associated with the divine quality. Such visual links were surely harder to create for qualities that did not receive cult, and this has important implications for the ways in which people presented themselves to others in the city, and were thought of by them. As with numismatic images, the availability and accessibility of these resources led their importance to be reinforced through later exploitations. M. Claudius Marcellus made such associations in the second century, by setting up statues to himself, his father, and grandfather near the temple of *HONOS* and *VIRTUS* that his grandfather had vowed and his father had dedicated. In an accompanying inscription, he emphasized that they had (among them) held the consulship nine times. He sought thereby visually to associate the family, and

cognomen (Frugi) at *Font.* 39. The emperor Vitellius' adoption of the *cognomen* 'CONCORDIA' is addressed in Ch. 7 below.

⁶¹ Varro *Ling.* 5.73. If the line were from the *Clastidium*, staged in my view at the inaugural games for *HONOS* and *VIRTUS* in 205, then the temple of *HONOS* would again provide a setting for such wordplay (see Ch. 3, esp. n. 99 for arguments about where the play was first staged). This attribution is wholly speculative. The two surviving 'fragments' attributed to the *Clastidium* do also come down to us through *de Lingua Latina* (7.107 and 9.78), but in those instances Varro names the play.

himself, more closely than ever with HONOS (which can of course connote office-holding) and with VIRTUS.⁶² When Cicero mentioned Marcellus, whom he described as ‘of the highest VIRTUS, PIETAS, and military glory’ (*summa VIRTUTE, PIETATE, gloria militari*) in his prosecution of Piso, he declared that Marcellus had perished at sea and yet ‘on account of VIRTUS lives on in glory and fame’ (*ob VIRTUTEM in gloria et laude vivit*).⁶³ This may well hint at Marcellus’ success in putting up the statue to himself in this location, since Asconius elaborated upon Cicero’s phrase by referring to these very statues.⁶⁴ According to Plutarch, moreover, the people erected a statue in honour of Cato the Elder in the temple of SALUS, commemorating neither his military campaigns nor his triumph but, according to the accompanying inscription, the fact ‘that when the Roman state was falling into decline he became censor and through helpful guidance, prudent habits, and sound teachings restored its strength.’⁶⁵ They thereby drew what appears to be a deliberate link between Cato’s actions and (the preservation of?) SALUS PUBLICA.⁶⁶

Other, personal, engagements with divine qualities may well have been numerous, using the temple spaces in different ways, but leaving no trace in any extant record.⁶⁷ Were it not for Cicero’s discussion in his speech on his house, after all, we would have no knowledge either of Cassius’ attempt to dedicate the statue of CONCORDIA and the Curia

⁶² Asc. Pis. 2 (44); with Hölscher (1994a/1978), 36.

⁶³ Cic. Pis. 44.

⁶⁴ Asc. Pis. 2 (44): ‘But the Marcellus of whom Cicero is speaking perished in a shipwreck off Africa shortly before the outbreak of the Third Punic War. When he was putting up statues to himself, his father, and grandfather, he very properly added the following inscription on his grandfather’s monument near the temple of HONOS and VIRTUS: “THREE MARCELLI, NINE TIMES CONSULS”’ (*Hic autem Marcellus de quo Cicero dicit naufragio ad ipsam Africam periit paulo ante coeptum bellum Punicum tertium. Idem cum statuas sibi ac patri itemque avo poneret in monumentis avi sui ad HONORIS et VIRTUTIS, decore subscripsit: III MARCELLI NOVIUS COSS.*).

⁶⁵ Plut. Cat. Mai. 19: ‘Ὅτι τὴν Ῥωμαίων πολιτείαν ἐγκεκλιμένην καὶ ῥέπουσαν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον τιμητῆς γενόμενος χρησταῖς ἀγωγαῖς καὶ σώφροσιν ἔθισμοῖς καὶ διδασκαλίαις εἰς ὀρθὸν αὐθις ἀποκατέστησε. Connections with qualities were, of course, not always made through physical resources: Cato the Younger, for example, was described as ‘a man most like VIRTUS’ (*homo VIRTUTI simillimus*), Vell. Pat. 2.35.2.

⁶⁶ Hölscher (1994a/1978), 36 goes so far as to use the example as a partial illustration of the early period in which ‘the portrait...oriented itself...towards that representation of abstract values that can so clearly be recognised in the period of the emperors’.

⁶⁷ See Bicoles’ dedication to HONOS below.

to CONCORDIA in 154 or of Q. Marcius Philippus' public display of the statue a decade earlier.

PRODIGIES

The interactions with temples and statues of divine qualities so far considered have largely been 'deliberate', in the sense that individuals or groups have chosen to meet in, place a statue or painting in, display booty in, visit, speak of, or otherwise draw upon the temple, festival, sacrifice, or statue for some purpose. Divine qualities were also involved in the lives of inhabitants of Rome in a manner that was, at least partially, affected by external factors. Prodigies were seen and recorded in connection with their temples, altars, statues, and other representations. These are of interest both in terms of the kinds of prodigies that appear to have been reported to the Roman senate during the Republic pertaining to such buildings and objects, and also with respect to the presentation of these prodigies in historiography, the genre in which most such reports now survive. The prodigies relating to temples, statues, and other representations of deities that occur in extant literature dealing with the Republican period are listed in Appendix 2.

Prodigies must be approached cautiously, given the particularly high number of pitfalls to be circumvented, or at least identified and acknowledged, in any attempt to draw conclusions from the surviving body of evidence about them. One fundamental question is the reliability of the prodigy lists from which the extant accounts might have been taken. These are largely now found in Livy and in Obsequens' *Liber Prodigiorum* ('Book of Prodigies'), although prodigies are also related by writers like Caesar, Cicero, Pliny, Suetonius, Appian, Dio, and Plutarch. The possibility must also be noted that (some) prodigies were either simply invented or given a particular location by historians. MacBain has successfully nuanced Rawson's attempt to weaken the credibility of the surviving lists, arguing that, although the prodigies now extant are necessarily incomplete, 'such distortion as there may be will have the effect of exaggerating, but cannot run contrary to, the factual situation'. A closely related issue is

the representative nature of the prodigies found in surviving works in relation to those originally reported. MacBain, whose interest lies in the relationship between Rome and Italy as illuminated by the phenomenon of the prodigy, argues cogently against Rawson's assertion that the lists in Livy/Obsequens may be heavily distorted by the use of special epitomes, while acknowledging that the degree of interest felt by 'the Romans' in a particular place may have provoked both the disappearance of certain prodigies from annalists and the retention of others.⁶⁸ In the case of Livy, Levene's analysis of the way the historian lengthened, shortened, moved, or omitted prodigies and prodigy lists according to the particular needs of his narrative and of his overall presentation of Rome's history, sheds a new and important light both on potential distortions and on reasons for such distortion.⁶⁹

The issue of 'fabrication', particularly of location, is particularly complex in those prodigies, or perhaps more accurately those portents or omens, recorded for the lives of the famous generals of the late Republic. The value for a historian of selecting the temple of a divine quality as the location of an 'invented' prodigy, or of setting an otherwise attested prodigy in or near such a temple, is intrinsically interesting. Examples can be found for phenomena recorded pertaining to important figures during these years. The significance of the omen of Caesar's chariot axle breaking during his triumph in 46 seems compounded in Dio's presentation, for example, by its occurrence opposite the temple of *FELICITAS*. Suetonius' account locates the incident in the Velabrum, but makes no explicit reference to the temple. With only these two later accounts mentioning this prodigy we cannot know whether the additional information has been inferred or invented by Dio, or whether such a connection was noted in 46. The fact that Lepidus' temple to *FELICITAS* was being built/dedicated at this time would make the incident topical, as Weinstock rightly notes.⁷⁰ A similar process may be at work, for example, in

⁶⁸ MacBain (1982), 23 and generally Rawson (1991, orig. publ. 1971), ch. 1. An example of interest in a particular place, namely Capua, is discussed below.

⁶⁹ Levene (1993).

⁷⁰ Dio Cass. 43.21.1; Suet. *Iul.* 37. Weinstock (1971), 77. Dio Cass. 47.2.3 is a similar example, with crowds of vultures settling on the temple of *CONCORDIA* at the approach of Lepidus, Antony, and Octavian.

Valerius Maximus' account of the murder in 89 of the praetor Sempronius Asellio, who had taken the part of debtors in a dispute over credit. Valerius depicts him 'making a sacrifice in front of the temple of CONCORDIA' (*pro aede CONCORDIAE sacrificium facientem*). In Appian's more detailed account Asellio was making an offering to Castor and Pollux.⁷¹

Most of the prodigies recorded as having occurred in temples, in the middle Republican period at least, probably were reported to, and accepted by, the senate. In other words, possible readings were available at the time of the prodigy and not just in later literature. It seems reasonable, then, to suppose that a report in a surviving source for this period usually reflects the year, nature, and location of the prodigy in question, albeit with varying degrees of accuracy. Other, similar prodigies may no longer survive, not only through the loss of parts of Livy but also because Livy might deliberately have excluded a number of such prodigies, including some affecting temples. What remains is no doubt an insufficient body of evidence for numerical analysis to be statistically significant or accurate. In terms of their continuing involvement in civic life, it remains nonetheless interesting to note that on available evidence almost one third of prodigies of this type in Rome involved the *aedes* of, or some representation of, a divine quality. The prodigies in question fall essentially into four types: lightning or thunder striking or damaging a temple; fire; animals or birds seen in or near such temples; and prodigies concerning statues moving, falling, or otherwise 'behaving' abnormally. These prodigies are intermingled in the sources with those that happen in or near other temples and with other prodigies, reinforcing the relative 'normality' of the place of divine qualities in the religio-socio-political topography in the city (although prodigies were, of course, by their nature abnormal phenomena). Prodigies involving divine qualities are recorded for the years 296, 269, 218, 211, 209, 208, 206, 196, 186, 183, 176, 169, 166, 163, 156, 148, 113, 104/3, 92, 91, 48, 47, 46, 44/3, 42, and 38. They extend, in other words, through the last three centuries of the Republic. The particular concentration of prodigies involving divine qualities in the years of the Second Punic War not only matches the

⁷¹ Val. Max. 9.7.4. App. *B Civ.* 1.54.

large number of prodigies generally recorded for those years, but may also reflect interest in temples of divine qualities, many of which were founded around this time. The concentration in the 40s may reflect the creation of meaning-bearing association through the ascription of prodigies to such temples by later authors such as Dio. Alternatively, and more probably, it reflects contemporary interest in such temples and in their association with the great generals, especially Caesar, and hence the heightened concern for, or exploitation of, prodigies of this type at the time. The continuing involvement of divine qualities in public life seems further underlined by these phenomena.

But how exactly was the nature of this 'involvement' understood at the time of the prodigy? Would it be imprudent to associate these prodigies with a belief in 'activity' on the part of the deities in question? Two issues are involved here: the interpretation of prodigies themselves and the steps taken to expiate them. The nature of the relationship between prodigy and expiation in Rome is extremely problematic. As North puts it: '[t]he fact is that the sources we have are markedly inexplicit about the nature of the connection between the occurrence of the prodigy, predictions that might be based on it, and the actions... finally taken to restore the damaged relationship implied by the prodigy itself'.⁷² North draws attention to the need for us to 'remember how reluctant Roman authors were to pull these elements together into a coherent explanation, and to respect their reluctance'. Levene, on the other hand, declares to the modern reader of Livy's history that,

when faced with an account of a supernatural event, one should first interpret it, in order to find out what a Roman would have taken it to show about the gods' attitude, and then one should seek to relate that attitude to the behaviour of the humans in the work. Of course, such connections may not always be present, ... nevertheless the Romans expected the supernatural to be working for the most part in such a way, and writers created their work within the framework of such expectations.

⁷² North (2000*b*), 39–40, on the dangers of assuming a framework of causation and belief in respect of prodigies. On prodigies generally see also Rosenberger (1998) on ideas of prodigies working through the violation and re-establishment of limits; Rasmussen (2003) with a useful table of prodigies.

He does not make a claim for explicit links between prodigy and expiation, but rather between the existence of 'supernatural' phenomena in Livy's narrative and subsequent action by the characters in that narrative.⁷³

North's caution is laudable, and perhaps to be preferred to generalizations such as 'what a Roman would have taken [a prodigy] to show about the gods' attitude'. I would suggest, however, that it is here taken somewhat to excess. We possess only one source containing something like a full text of a priestly response (Cicero's *de Haruspicum Responsis*), and it would indeed be foolhardy to extrapolate dogmatically from this slender base. Nevertheless, this speech, in which Cicero drew direct links between the interpretations of the *haruspices* and the actions of Clodius, which he maintained were the offences to be expiated, does provide useful material if used with care and caution. It demonstrates how the priestly interpretation of prodigies could and did itself lie open to (further) interpretation and debate. The whole speech, indeed, is premised upon alternative expositions (those of Clodius and Cicero) of the *haruspices'* replies. According to the *haruspices*, the 'din and roaring sound' (*strepitus cum fremitu*) heard in the *ager Latiniensis* in 56 signified that forgotten sacrifices (*postiliones*) should be made 'to Iuppiter, Saturn, Neptune, Tellus, and the celestial gods' (*Iovi, Saturno, Neptuno, Telluri, dis caelestibus*). Among the human failings identified by them as bringing about this need, 'games had been put on most carelessly and had been polluted' (*ludos minus diligenter factos pollutosque*) and 'sacred and hallowed places had been profaned' (*loca sacra et religiosa profana haberi*).⁷⁴ Clodius linked the latter to the restoration of Cicero's house. Cicero, on the other hand, was able to pull the other elements together to provide an interpretation directly linking this 'roaring sound' with the packing of the theatre with slaves by Clodius at the Megalesia (which action he wished to identify as the above-mentioned pollution of the games). 'We understand', he says, 'that she [the Magna Mater]... roams the fields and woods with some din and roaring. She has therefore both shown these indications of crime

⁷³ North (2000b), 40; Levene (1993), 9.

⁷⁴ Cic. *Har. resp.* 20, 21, 9. Tatum (1999), 215–19 has a useful discussion of the episode.

and made clear the signs of danger to you, to the Roman people' (*hanc matrem magnam... accepimus agros et nemora cum quodam strepitu fremituque peragrarere. Haec igitur vobis, haec populo Romano et scelerum indicia ostendit et periculorum signa patefecit*).⁷⁵ It would be foolhardy in the extreme to assume that such an interpretation would be made or accepted by all 'Romans', or indeed that Cicero 'believed' it. Its value lies rather in the fact that such an interpretation was available to Cicero and that it cannot have been inherently implausible. If we assume a moderate degree of coherence between the delivered and published versions of the speech, this explanation may after all be presumed to have been advanced to the senate.⁷⁶

Competing explanations seem also to have been provided by different 'specialists', and in one such instance a statue of a divine quality whose temple was at that time awaiting dedication plays an important part. We have already seen hints of competing explanations of Postumius Megellus' foundation to VICTORIA in the historiographical record. The earliest recorded surviving example of a prodigy concerning a divine quality is that of a bronze statue of VICTORIA in the Forum which, in 296, two years before the dedication of Megellus' temple, was found standing on the ground off its pedestal, facing in the direction from which the Gauls were approaching.⁷⁷ The passage in Zonaras that recounts this otherwise unattested prodigy claims that the populace was already frightened by it, and by the blood, followed by milk and honey, issuing from the altar of Iuppiter on the Capitol, and that the people were 'even more terrified by the ill-omened decisions of the prophets'.⁷⁸ Wiseman has explored the prodigy in detail. He suggests that the 'ill-omened' recommendations in question might have been made by the reformed augural college—which had included plebeian augurs

⁷⁵ Cic. *Har. resp.* 24.

⁷⁶ In any event the explanation was included in the written version, which must have anticipated a similar audience.

⁷⁷ Cf. Dio Cass. 56.24.4 in which Augustus fears imminent invasion of Italy (in part) because a statue of VICTORIA in Germany turned to face Italy instead of the enemy, and Tac. *Ann.* 14.32 in which a statue of VICTORIA at Camulodunum falls down with its back turned, 'as if it were fleeing before the enemy' during the revolt of the Iceni.

⁷⁸ Zonar. 8.1: ταῦτ' οὖν καὶ ἄλλως ἐξεφόβει τὸν δῆμον, πλέον δ' ὑπὸ τῶν μάντεων κεκρυμένα ἀπαίσια, tr. Wiseman (1995), 118.

since the *lex Ogulnia* of 300. It might have consisted in a call for human sacrifice, interpreting the blood followed by milk and honey as prosperity following a sacrifice.⁷⁹ The passage in Zonaras then goes on to narrate an alternative interpretation of the prodigies in question. This was provided by an Etruscan, Manius, who ‘encouraged the populace’ by seeing VICTORIA’s ‘fall’ in a more positive light: VICTORIA had rather advanced, he claimed, and was now placed on a firm footing. Manius interpreted this to the populace as an omen of their strength in war.⁸⁰ His interpretation of the milk and honey, however, was less positive: disease and famine. On Wiseman’s reasoning, the earlier reading of the prodigies required revision once the sacrifice had been performed, the battle of Sentinum had been won, and the temple of VICTORIA had been dedicated (in 294), but three years of plague had then followed. It was perhaps in 292, when Asclepius was summoned from Epidaurus in a bid to rid Rome of the plague, that the ‘alternative’ version was created, when people were keen to forget the horror of the human sacrifice.⁸¹ To assert, however, as Wiseman does, that ‘[a]fter a sacrifice, prosperity’ was the ‘inevitable response, and it was no doubt in order to elicit it that those particular portents were announced in the first place’⁸² suggests a degree of manipulation of the prodigies by the augurs that cannot be proved. It is, moreover, not necessarily supported by the only evidence available. In Zonaras’ account, at least, the fear inspired by the prodigies themselves is presented as something separate from, and additional to, that aroused by the prophets’ *κεκρυμμένα ἀπαίσια* (‘ill-omened decisions’). The prodigies might have been ‘chosen’ for their seemingly ‘inevitable’ interpretation, or they might have been reported and then examined by the college in question. Whichever was the case, the debate that seems to have taken place in these years—years of fear, of a war of uncertain outcome, and of plague and perhaps famine—is clearly portrayed

⁷⁹ Wiseman (1995), 118–20 on the portents and their interpretation, and generally 117–25 for archaeological evidence under the temple of VICTORIA which may support his claim, a claim which he admittedly describes (p. 125) as ‘even more tenuous and conjectural than usual’.

⁸⁰ Zonar. 8.1: Μάνιος δέ τις Τυρσηνὸς τὸ γένος ἐθάρσυνεν αὐτοὺς, εἰπὼν τήν τε ΝΙΚΗΝ, εἰ καὶ κατέβη, ἀλλ’ εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν προχωρήσασαν καὶ βεβαιότερον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἰδρυθεῖσαν τὸ κράτος σφίσι προδηλοῦν τοῦ πολέμου.

⁸¹ Wiseman (1995), 120.

⁸² *ibid.* 119.

as having affected the populace at large. The statue of VICTORIA in the Forum formed a focal part of the debate, and provides us with an early example of a resource through which issues of obvious import to the community were discussed.

Should Wiseman's hypotheses be correct, including his very tentative interpretation of the grave discovered under a defensive wall supporting the precinct of VICTORIA, then VICTORIA might also be seen as the deity to whom the putative expiatory sacrifice was made. In this particular case, the ambiguous nature of the reference to the 'ill-omened decisions of the prophets' (τῶν μάντεων κεκριμένα ἀπαίσια) is easily explained by the horror engendered by a sacrifice such as Wiseman envisages. The lack of an apparently clear-cut link between prodigy and expiation is not, however, confined to such cases. A passage of Livy concerning prodigies and their expiation for the year 218 exemplifies the situation:

*Romae aut circa urbem multa ea hieme prodigia facta aut, quod evenire solet motis semel in religionem animis, multa nuntiata et temere credita sunt; in quis ingenuum infantem semestrem in foro olitorio triumphum clamasse, et in foro boario bovem in tertiam contignationem sua sponte escendisse atque inde tumultu habitatorum territum sese deiecissee, et navium speciem de caelo adfulsissee, et aedem SPEI, quae est in foro olitorio, fulmine ictam, et Lanuvi hastam se commovisse et corvum in aedem Iunonis devolassee atque in ipso pulvinario consedissee, et in agro Amiternino multis locis hominum species procul candida veste visas nec cum ullo congressas, et in Piceno lapidibus pluvissee, et Caere sortes extenuatas, et in Gallia lupum vigili gladium ex vagina raptum abstulisse. Ob cetera prodigia libros adire decemviri iussi; quod autem lapidibus pluvisset in Piceno, novemdiale sacrum edictum; et subinde aliis procurandis prope tota civitas operata fuit. Iam primum omnium urbs lustrata est, hostiaeque maiores quibus editum est dis caesae, et donum ex auri pondo quadraginta Lanuvium Iunoni portatum est, et signum aeneum matronae Iunoni in Aventino dedicaverunt, et lectisternium Caere, ubi sortes adtenuatae erant, imperatum, et supplicatio FORTUNAE in Algido; Romae quoque et lectisternium Iuventati et supplicatio ad aedem Herculis nominatim, deinde universo populo circa omnia pulvinaria indicta, et Genio maiores hostiae caesae quinque, et C. Atilius Serranus praetor vota suscipere iussus, si in decem annos res publica eodem stetisset statu. Haec procurata votaue ex libris Sibyllinis magna ex parte levaverant religione animos.*⁸³

⁸³ Livy 21.62.

During this winter many portents occurred in and around Rome, or at least, many were reported and were thoughtlessly believed, as usually happens when once men's minds have been excited about the observance of obligations to the gods. A six-month-old child, of freeborn parents, is said to have shouted 'Io triumphe' in the Forum Holitorium, while in the Forum Boarium an ox is reported to have climbed up of its own accord to the third storey of a house, and then, terrified by the noisy crowd of inhabitants, to have thrown itself down. Phantom ships were said to have shone from the sky; the temple of SPES in the Forum Holitorium was struck by lightning; at Lanuvium Iuno's spear had moved on its own, and a crow had flown down into her temple and settled upon her very couch; in the territory of Amitemnum beings in human shape and clothed in white were seen at a distance in many places, but no one came close to them; in the neighbourhood of Picenum there was a shower of stones; at Caere the oracular tablets had shrunk; in Gaul a wolf had snatched a watchman's sword from its scabbard and run off with it. On account of the other portents, the decemvirs were ordered to consult the sacred books, but in the case of the shower of stones at Picenum a nine-day sacred feast was proclaimed, at the close of which almost the whole community busied itself with the expiation of the others. First of all the city was purified, and full-grown victims were sacrificed to the deities named in the sacred books; an offering of forty pounds' weight of gold was carried to Iuno at Lavinium, and the matrons dedicated a bronze statue of Iuno on the Aventine. At Caere, where the tablets had shrunk, a *lectisternium* was decreed, and a *supplicatio* was to be given to FORTUNA on Mt. Algidus. In Rome too a *lectisternium* was ordered for Iuventas and a *supplicatio* especially at the temple of Hercules, and afterwards one in which the whole population was to take part at all the shrines. Five full-grown victims were sacrificed to the Genius, and Gaius Atilius Serranus, the praetor, was commanded to undertake vows, which were to be discharged should the *res publica* remain in the same condition for ten years. These expiations and vows, ordered according to the sacred books, did much to allay the fears of the people.

Temples of divine qualities are included here in both a prodigy and an expiatory rite, in one of only two examples I know where a divine quality is expressly mentioned in connection with expiation.⁸⁴ The

⁸⁴ In 180 the Sibylline books ordered the consul to give gilded statues to Apollo, Aesculapius, and SALUS, after the deaths (later the suspected poisonings) of prominent men (Livy 40.37.2). Here the other two deities involved and the *supplicatio* for two days *valetudinis causa* clearly emphasize one aspect of SALUS, that closely associated with HYGIEIA.

prodigies occur at the end of Livy's account of 218, immediately before his description of Flaminius' behaviour the following year and immediately before the next prodigy list. According to Levene's analysis, this deliberate suspension of the 218 list until the end of the year, which allows it almost to be juxtaposed with the next, permits Livy to imply that Flaminius' impiety is responsible for both sets of prodigies. It is for the same reason, in his view, that both lists are longer than normal.⁸⁵ I therefore take this case to be an example of the fullest prodigy list that Livy was able to put together from all his available sources of prodigies reported from the year, or years, around 218. As Rosenberger points out, not all the deities to whom sacrifice was made are mentioned by name.⁸⁶ It is thus not inconceivable that those gods chosen to receive a sacrifice of major victims could have been those, including *SPES*, who appear *prima facie* to be directly concerned in the prodigies, although this is not made explicit. The explanation given by the pontiffs for preventing Marcellus dedicating the temple of *HONOS* outside the *porta Capena* to *HONOS* and *VIRTUS* in 222 (that, 'if it were struck by lightning or some other prodigy happened in it, the expiation would be difficult, because it could not be known which god was to be propitiated'; *si de caelo tacta aut prodigii aliquid in ea factum esset, difficilis procuratio foret, quod utri deo res divina fieret, sciri non posset*)⁸⁷ seems to support this possibility. In the event of a prodigy in the temple, it clearly suggests that the deity 'affected' should receive sacrifice. Given the lack of explicit mention of any prodigy affecting *FORTUNA* in Livy's text, it may be hazardous for us to attempt to explain the choice of the temple of *FORTUNA* outside Rome, on *mons Algidus*, for expiation in 218, but this does not mean that we should assume that explanations were not given and/or conceived of at the time.⁸⁸

The location of those temples of divine qualities in which prodigies are recorded is of especial interest on this wider geographical

⁸⁵ Levene (1993), 38.

⁸⁶ Rosenberger (1998), 177.

⁸⁷ Livy 27.25.8–9.

⁸⁸ Rosenberger (1998), 178 attempts to explain this supplication to *FORTUNA* in terms of her status as a 'goddess of luck' (*Glücksgöttin*), whose support would be especially needed in a war such as that against Hannibal. Champeaux (1982*b*), 184 deduces from the critical period of the *supplicatio* that the sanctuary in question—the only secure evidence for the existence of which is this attestation in Livy—must have been famous enough for the Romans to have recourse to it in 'one of the most critical periods of their history'.

scale. Of the thirty-four prodigies relating to divine qualities that survive for the Republican period, all but five (just conceivably six)⁸⁹ are located in Rome itself. One of the exceptions is the temple of VICTORIA/NIKE at Tralles, where a palm tree is said to have sprung up near Caesar's statue at the time of his victory at Pharsalus. The contemporary significance of this prodigy is suggested by its inclusion in Caesar's own account. Another dates to around 42, and also concerns a representation of VICTORIA. In what appears to be a list of prodigies concerning the battle of Philippi, Obsequens records that a boy dressed in the costume of VICTORIA is said to have fallen from a litter (*ferculum*). Plutarch mentions an 'earlier occasion during a procession at some festival', when a golden statue of VICTORIA belonging to Cassius was being carried before him and suddenly fell to the ground when the bearer lost his footing.⁹⁰ The interest here lies not only in the explanation that might have been drawn from this: the context in which Plutarch mentions the omen, at least, indubitably associates the fall of Cassius' VICTORIA with his forthcoming defeat. It is also to be found in the circumstances that made such portents possible: the inclusion of VICTORIA in processions of the gods at this point, the fact that she could be represented by a boy, and that private statues of the divine quality might be carried in procession. Without trying to make facile statements about 'belief', it is important to note these engagements, real or alleged, with such resources by Caesar's murderers at a time of great personal danger.

Two further prodigies occurring outside Rome involved the temple of FORTUNA at Capua, which was struck by lightning in 209 and 208 according to Livy's narrative.⁹¹ Another was again located in Capua, in the second century, and is mentioned by Cicero, who says that a statue of VICTORIA there dripped with sweat.⁹² This concentration in

⁸⁹ Obsequens 38 records that in 113 the/an 'altar of SALUS was broken' (*ara SALUTIS interrupta*). Since no location outside Rome is specified, I take this to refer to the altar connected to the temple of SALUS in Rome, or at least to *an* altar to the goddess in the city. An altar to SALUS is, however, expressly attested for Praeneste (ILLRP 132; CIL XIV 2892; ILS 3419; Vetter (1953), no. 509).

⁹⁰ Tralles: Caes. *B Civ.* 3.105.6, Obsequens 65a, Plut. *Caes.* 47; Philippi: Obsequens 70; Cassius: Plut. *Brut.* 39.2.

⁹¹ Livy 27.11.2; 27.23.2.

⁹² Cic. *Div.* 1.98: 'when Apollo sweated at Cumae, and VICTORIA at Capua' (*cum Cumis Apollo sudavit, Capuae VICTORIA*), to be dated to 169, 130, or 91 if the two did,

Capua of surviving prodigies in temples of divine qualities outside Rome is of particular interest, given the city's relationship to Rome from the Second Punic War onwards. Having defected to Carthage in 216 and remained important allies of Hannibal until the city's recapture in 211, the Capuans were deprived both of territory and political rights by the victorious Romans and directly governed by a Roman praetor. Surviving Roman literature suggests that after this the city and the fertile territory surrounding it, the *ager Campanus*, had a special place in Roman imaginations: Pobjoy shows very clearly how the tropes of *superbia* (pride), *luxuria* (luxury), and infidelity ascribed to Capuans in Cicero's speeches on the agrarian law in 63, for example, appear to be geographically determined.⁹³ This makes the lack of certainty regarding the date ascribed to the prodigy involving the sweating statue of VICTORIA all the more frustrating. MacBain, who argues convincingly for one important function of prodigy and expiation being communication, sees a kind of 'signalling system whereby the Roman senate... could acknowledge the anxieties and identify with the religious sensibilities of Italians' and also assert Roman hegemony over Italy in the religious sphere.⁹⁴ He relates the high number of prodigies from Capua reported and retained in the tradition to the city's circumstances during the Hannibalic war, and to the way in which it subsequently 'always loomed large in the Roman consciousness', so that its prodigies would always have been of interest.⁹⁵ A prodigy involving a statue of VICTORIA in the city would clearly have been of particular interest in Rome at any time.

Prodigies appear to have been one phenomenon which, especially before the struggles of the late Republican period, might well have been viewed as affecting the community as a whole. The instances I have discussed illustrate how divine qualities and their temples and statues provided mechanisms (as did those of other deities) for

as Cicero seems to imply, occur at the same time. MacBain (1982), 22–3 and n. 41 discusses the dates of some of the prodigies included in this list of Cicero's.

⁹³ Pobjoy (1995), *passim*, esp. ch. 1 for the special place of the *urbs trunca*, and ch. 3, part III and ch. 5 for Capua in Roman literature.

⁹⁴ MacBain (1982), 7.

⁹⁵ These are ten in number, half from the Second Punic War (217, 209, 208, 207, 203, 198, 193, 179, 177, and 163) (MacBain (1982), 14 and n. 23). It is unclear where/whether the Ciceronian prodigy (see n. 92 above) occurs in this list.

discussing the situation of a community and the means of ameliorating its condition. Their temples and statues were perhaps particularly productive of meaning as the site of a prodigy. Their exegetical charge may well have been exploited not only in later authors but also at the time of the occurrence. Those prodigies involving divine qualities outside Rome that did not directly involve the struggles of Caesar or of his killers were concentrated in Capua. The notice taken at Rome of these, as of other prodigies occurring there, reflects the importance of Capua and should lead us to look more closely at other cults that Capua shared with Rome.

DEDICATIONS

Surviving dedications to divine qualities for the Republican period, particularly those found in Rome itself, are limited in number. Since little is known or recorded about the circumstances of dedication, the information that the inscriptions yield is in most cases not abundant. Around forty objects have survived, however, from nearly twenty different locations in Italy, including Capua, which refer to divine qualities in varying contexts. They provide some glimpses of the names, origins, and/or status of individuals and groups who chose, or were deputed, to appeal to, thank, and make a dedication to a divine quality.

In 110 the *magistri* of the cult of SPES, FIDES, and FORTUNA in Capua oversaw the erection of a wall to these three divine qualities, as attested in an inscription, which gives the names of the *magistri* and dates the structure exclusively in terms of the names of the Roman consuls.⁹⁶ Champeaux argues that this cult was probably established

⁹⁶ ILLRP 707; CIL I² 674; X 3775: [- - -, / - - -, / - - -] V(ibi) f., / [-C]orn[e]li(us) L. (?) f. Cori (- - -), / [- -] Nerius M. f., // [- -] fe[i]us M. f. Sc(- - -), / C. Maius N. f., / M. Vibius M. f. Ru(- - -), / L. Pomponi(us) L. f. f(ilius), L. Olienus L. f. / [He]isc(e) mag(istreis) SPEI, FIDEI, FORTUNAE mur[um] / faciundu(m) coiravere M. Minu[cio], S. Postumio co(n)s(ulibus) ('...son of Vibius; Cornelius Cori...son of Lucius (?); Nerius son of Marcus, ...feius Sc..., son of Marcus; Gaius Maius, son of Numerus; Marcus Vibius Ru..., son of Marcus; Lucius Pomponius, son of Lucius; Lucius Olienus, son of Lucius. These *magistri* saw to the construction of a wall to SPES, FIDES, and FORTUNA, in the consulships of Marcus Minucius and Spurius Postumius'). See Ch. 2

during the second century,⁹⁷ in which case it must have been instituted in the years between the Roman imposition of terms on Capua after 211 and the foundation of a colony there in the first century. It is not impossible that the very temple of FORTUNA struck by lightning in 209 and 208 developed into a centre for this joint cult in or before 110, although there is no positive evidence to support such an assertion. The existence of a cult of FIDES in Capua is particularly significant, given the city's importance in the history of Rome and its reputation in Roman literature, where the infidelity of its inhabitants and their willingness to change sides is early emphasized. In 211 Capua, as we have seen, was deprived of senate, assembly, and magistrates, in a bid to prevent further disloyalty.⁹⁸ Roles such as those of *magistri* of local cults were perhaps one of the few means left of asserting status in the city. We have already seen how the idea of Vestia Oppia sacrificing to SALUS and VICTORIA POPULI ROMANI during the Second Punic War was explicitly presented—in Augustan times, at least—as having been recognized at Rome. Might a cult of FIDES have been viewed in part as a means of presenting the city to people at Rome, of displaying those involved at the shrine as undeserving of such ill-repute? They too worshipped that FIDES on which some at Rome ostensibly prided themselves and which (conveniently forgetting earlier relations) they presented Capua as having broken.⁹⁹

FORTUNA received offerings from people of all statuses and walks of life, particularly in towns such as Praeneste of which she was the chief deity. They range from the well-known dedication by the aristocratic Orcevia, to those by *collegia* of many kinds. From Rome, L. Quinctius Flaminius, brother of the Cynoscephalae victor, made an offering to FORTUNA in Praeneste either after his successful capture of Leucas in 197 or after obtaining the consulship in 192.¹⁰⁰

for the age of the cult and the origins of the founder of the temples of FIDES and SPES in Rome.

⁹⁷ So Champeaux (1982*b*), 188; (1987), 208–10 (see Ch. 2 above).

⁹⁸ See Pobjoy (1995), esp. ch. 5; *ibid.* 10.

⁹⁹ Vestia Oppia: see above. Frederiksen, with Purcell (1984), ch. 8 on the nature and historiography of the Campanian *deditio*.

¹⁰⁰ Orcevia: *ILLRP* 101; *CIL* I² 60; XIV 2863; *collegia* in Praeneste: *ILLRP* 103–107*c*; Flaminius: *ILLRP* 321; *CIL* I² 613; XIV 2935. Champeaux (1982*b*), ch. 1 discusses

In Rome itself FORTUNA received an altar from T. Quinctius (probably the consul of 150 or 123) by decree of the senate, while FORS FORTUNA received dedications from various *collegia*: butchers, violet-dyers, rose-dealers, garland-sellers, and coppersmiths.¹⁰¹ The coppersmiths' dedication dates from the end of the second or early first century, and was found near the *via Portuensis* in the Ceccarelli vineyard, between the fifth and sixth milestones. It may imply continuity of worship by the Carvili over some two centuries, since two of the freedmen making this dedication are Carvili, and so are linked to the family of the founder of the temple to FORS FORTUNA at the sixth milestone, which was dedicated in 293.¹⁰² FORTUNA also received a small votive column in Tusculum in the second century, put up by M. Furius Crassipes, *triumvir coloniae deducendae* ('triumvir for founding the colony') in 194, praetor in 187 and 173. He originally came from this town and dedicated part of his booty to FORTUNA. The column, which was found near the family tomb of the Furii, was erected together with another to Mars, probably as a private dedication.¹⁰³ A statue base dedicated to FORTUNA OPSEQUENS in the forum at Cora was given by two censors, and FELICITAS received a dedication by two aediles in Tibur at a date unknown.¹⁰⁴

Surviving dedications to divine qualities are almost exclusively in Latin, and were found predominantly in Latium itself, or in Roman or Latin colonies or *municipia*. One important exception is a dedication made in the late second or early first century to VICTORIA ('*VÍKTURRAÍ*') and found at Pietrabbondante. This cult centre of the

dedications to FORTUNA in Praeneste, but her description of the layout of the sanctuary itself is dubious (see Coarelli (1987), ch. 3).

¹⁰¹ Quinctius' dedication: *ILLRP* 95; *CIL* I² 656; VI 30870. Butchers: *ILLRP* 97; *CIL* I² 978; VI 167 and *ILLRP* 98; *CIL* I² 979; VI 168. The *magistri* of this collegium from *piscina publica* are freedmen and slaves. Flower-merchants: *ILLRP* 99; *CIL* I² 980; VI 169 = 30707: the inscription is incomplete and no names survive for the *magistri* who oversaw its setting up. Coppersmiths: *ILLRP* 96; *CIL* I² 977; VI 36771.

¹⁰² By Sp. Carvilius Maximus (Livy 10.46.14), on which see also Ch. 6 n. 101.

¹⁰³ *ILLRP* 100; *CIL* I² 48; XIV 2577: M. Fourio(s) C.f. tribunos / [milita]re de praidad FORTUNE dedet ('Marcus Furius, military tribune, son of Gaius, gave this to FORTUNA out of spoils'). Find spot: Champeaux (1982b), 183. Mars: *ILLRP* 221.

¹⁰⁴ Cora: *ILLRP* 111; *CIL* I² 1509; X 6509. FORTUNA OPSEQUENS is known in Rome from the time of Plautus (see *Asin.* 716), and this inscription, *litteris antiquis* (*CIL* X 6509), may date to the third century BC. See now *Epigraphia* (1991), no. 36 for FORTUNA OPSEQUENS. Tibur: *ILLRP* 89; *CIL* I² 1481=XIV 3538.

Pentri Samnites was embellished, between around 120 and 90, with a second, much larger temple (B), of Latian form (in addition to the Ionic temple (A) built after Hannibal's destruction of the sanctuary) and a Hellenistic-type theatre. Both of these seem to have gone out of use at the end of the Social War. The federal nature of the sanctuary during this period has been inferred from surviving Oscan documentation, which includes the word *safnim* (= Samnium).¹⁰⁵ The bronze sheet on which the dedication to VICTORIA was made was found near temple B, measures 13.5 by 4.2 cm, and was perhaps originally fixed on the wooden base of a small votive object, such as a statue.¹⁰⁶ It reads:

MARAS. STAÍIS. BANTTIEÍ[S]	<i>Maras Staius Bant[i f.]</i>
LÚVKIS. DEKITIS. MARAH[EÍS]	<i>Lucius Decitius Mara[ei f.]</i>
VÍKTURRAÍ. DUNÚM. DED[ENS]	<i>VICTORIAE donum ded[erunt]</i> ¹⁰⁷

The dedication seems likely to be private, given both the size of the bronze sheet and the unusual onomastic formulae.¹⁰⁸ Poccetti suggests that the dedicants, from well-known local *gentes*, came together to make the dedication because of common interests or duties in the Social War. He infers the 'extension of the cult of Victoria' among the Italians at this time both from this dedication and from coins minted by the insurgents.¹⁰⁹ The inscription is stronger evidence for cult than are the coins. Dench, who draws attention to the active role of local communities in 'selecting and using models and motifs to reinforce their individual cultural identities', interprets this inscription as further support for the possible role of Pietrabbondante as a 'focus of specifically Samnite identity'.¹¹⁰ The calque on the Latin VICTORIA is clear from the -kt- in *Vikturraí*,¹¹¹ and this matches the role of VICTORIA on some of the coin scenes chosen by the insurgents.

¹⁰⁵ See esp. Lejeune (1972); Vetter (1953), no. 149 for *safnim*.

¹⁰⁶ The suggestion is Lejeune's (1972), 98. The plaque is damaged on the left-hand side, and has a hole in the lower right corner (Poccetti (1979), 35).

¹⁰⁷ *ibid.* 35–6, no. 16, with bibliog.

¹⁰⁸ Neither dedicator includes a title after his name in the dedication to VICTORIA, unless the *lacunae* at the ends of the lines are more significant than the standard reconstruction implies.

¹⁰⁹ Poccetti (1979), 36. See Burnett (1998) on the coinage.

¹¹⁰ Dench (1995), 139. ¹¹¹ Poccetti (1979), 35–6.

As Burnett points out, their numismatic iconography was expressed in a framework identical to the coinage of Rome.¹¹² Italia thus appears in one set of coin scenes in Roma's place, crowned, as Roma so often was on coins minted in Rome, by VICTORIA. VICTORIA was thus a divine quality on whom the insurgents drew in their self-presentation and one whom the *gentes* making this dedication thought fit to propitiate: a VICTORIA probably appropriated from Rome, and inscribed against Rome in a manner somewhat reminiscent of the purpose of the Roman ceremony of *evocatio* (the wartime ceremony offering a deity considered to be protecting the enemy a new home and cult at Rome or, later, in the provinces).

VICTORIA had earlier, however, received dedications in Marsic territory. Two survive, the earlier of which dates back as early as the late third century.¹¹³ They were found close together, by the Fucine lake at Trasacco, implying the presence of a cult, if not of a temple, to VICTORIA there. The older of the two is a parallelepiped votive *cippus*, with a dedication on behalf of the *vicus* by two quaestors, perhaps referring to a trophy: *vecos Sup(i)na(s?) / VICTORIE se[in]q(nom) / dono(m) dedet / lub(en)s mereto / queistores / Sa(lvius) Magio(s) St(ati) f(ilius), / Pac(ios) Anaedio(s) St(ati) f(ilius)* ('The Supinate village bestowed this as a gift willingly and deservedly on VICTORIA; quaestors Salvius Magius, son of Statius, and Pacuvius Anaedius, son of Statius').¹¹⁴ The onomastics are Latin, but the dative ending in '-e' for the first declension is typical of the Marsic dialect. The syntax of this inscription is unusual, with the quaestors' names appearing in the nominative as eponyms. This seems to indicate a phase in which the inhabitants of Supinum, although adopting both the title *queistor* and a system of collegiate equality for their magistrates, used the title for supreme magistrates rather than those with financial responsibilities, as at Rome. The second, later inscription is a small limestone base for an *ex-voto* of modest dimensions (the base measures about 42 × 21 × 19 cm): *Sa(lvius) Sta(tius) Fl(avii) / VIC(TORIAE) d(onum) d(ederunt) l(ubentes) / m(erito)* ('Salvius Flavius and Statius Flavius

¹¹² Burnett (1998), 166.

¹¹³ *CIL* I² 388 and 387. See Letta and D'Amato (1975), 193 and 202 for dating.

¹¹⁴ Letta and D'Amato (1975), no. 128. See their whole discussion and esp. p. 204 for the suggestion of a trophy.

gave this as a gift to VICTORIA, willing and deservedly').¹¹⁵ Letta and D'Amato tentatively associate the introduction of the cult, and perhaps the dedication of the trophy, with the end of the Second Punic War, during which Marsic territory, including Trasacco, had been devastated.¹¹⁶ The VICTORIA to whom these quaestors made their dedication, then, seems again to have been adopted from Rome. In this case at least it appears to be a VICTORIA which, if its most important effects were local, did not oppose that worshipped in Rome. VICTORIA also appears on grave goods found in Praeneste in the company of other figures, including other deities.¹¹⁷ The only surviving Republican inscription to VICTORIA from Rome itself is too fragmentary to provide much information, but was clearly public. Found on the Palatine, in the Farnese gardens overlooking the precinct of VICTORIA, it was set up by order of the senate at uncertain date, by a praetor whose name can no longer be identified.¹¹⁸

The single surviving dedication to HONOS was similarly found in the vicinity of the location of that deity's temple, by the *porta Collina*.¹¹⁹ The dedicator, one Marcus (or Aulus) Bicoleios, freedman of Vibius, made this, a private dedication to the divine quality, *mereto* ('deservedly'), in the third century.¹²⁰ Although nothing else is known of Marcus Bicoleios, both his status as freedman and the private nature of his dedication are suggestive in terms of this devotion to HONOS. The surviving evidence for HONOS is otherwise almost exclusively linked to magistrates, particularly to the Marcelli.

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*, no. 129.

¹¹⁶ *ibid.* 204, following their reading of Coelius Antipater on the southern coast of the Fucine lake, *frg.* 28 *HRR*.

¹¹⁷ The deities' names are marked next to their images, in the Latin alphabet. VICTORIA appears, as a winged NIKE, with a winged Cupid and Venus, on a mirror from a sarcophagus from the large burial area south of Praeneste, labelled VITORIA (*CIL* I² 550; Vetter (1953), no. 366c). Since *cupido* is rendered *cudido*, the absence of 'c' in VITORIA is assumed also to be an error. On another such mirror she appears as a NIKE crowning a seated Paris, with the inscription VICTORIA *alixentros* (*CIL* I² 557; Vetter (1953), no. 366k), and on a third with the label *hiaco VICTORIA FORTUNA menerva* where a youth (Jason?) is depicted in a quadriga drawn by panther, stag, griffin, and lynx (*CIL* I² 2498; Vetter (1953), no. 366o).

¹¹⁸ *ILLRP* 284; *CIL* I² 805; *CIL* VI 3733; 31059: [VICT]oriai / [- - -]cius C. f. / [p]r(aetor) s(enatus) c(onsulto) d(onum) d(at) ('- - -cius son of Gaius, praetor, gives this as a gift according to a decree of the senate'), with Wiseman (1981). See Ch. 6 on Varro's association of VICTORIA and Vacuna.

¹¹⁹ See Ch. 2, p. 64–6 above.

¹²⁰ *CIL* I² 31; VI 3692.

As a *libertus*, Bicoleios could not himself have held or hoped to hold magisterial office. This dedication, then, shows that men (at least) of his status could also have reason to be grateful to such a divine quality, although it should be noted that this dedication was found by the temple to HONOS near the *porta Collina*, rather than that of the Marcelli or of Marius. The possibility that Bicoleios was a member of a *collegium* cannot be ruled out, but even if this was the case, this chance survival broadens the group of people who might have been interested in HONOS, strengthening the hypothesis that in Rome itself (certain) divine qualities were pertinent to a wider range of social statuses than is usually assumed.

Other divine qualities also received dedications from freedmen and slaves, and indeed appear possibly to have been invoked by slaves or thanked by freedmen precisely in respect of the gaining of their freedom. Bömer supports Vetter's suggestion that an Oscan inscription (*iúveís lúvfreís*) on the base of a bronze head of Iuppiter found in Punta di Penna might have been dedicated by one of Tiberius Gracchus' newly enfranchised slave volunteers, whom he had represented in the painting placed in his father's temple to (Iuppiter) LIBERTAS.¹²¹ Risking circularity, we might take his argument as an example of a stronger cult link with the aspect of LIBERTAS drawn on by Gracchus.¹²² The *magistri* and *magistrae* inscriptions from Minturnae date to the first half of the first century and include (at least) three dedications to SPES. The twelve dedicants are always male; in two cases all are slaves, with eleven slaves and one freedman in the third instance.¹²³ In Genzano one Teucus Mulvius is also known to have made a dedication to SPES, but his status is unknown.¹²⁴ There is no direct evidence for the participation of slaves or freedmen in the cult of SPES at Rome itself and the *magistri* in Capua, too, were all free men. Fabre's attempt to prove that the cult of SPES *could not*

¹²¹ Vetter (1953), no. 170; Bömer (1958), 121–2, and Fabre (1981), 88.

¹²² Note also the six altars from Veii, five inscribed, and dated on epigraphic grounds to the third century, from a cult site that does not appear to have been such before the Roman conquest (*ILLRP* 27–31; *CIL* I² 2628–32). The dedicants are unknown, but two dedications are to Iuppiter LIBERTAS and VICTORIA, and Torelli (1988), 69 sees these as linked in some way with the climate of the conquest.

¹²³ *ILLRP* 730, 734, and 740; *CIL* I² 2689, 2698, and 2700; Johnson (1933), nos. 12, 21, and 23, on which see Johnson (1933), *passim*, esp. 9.

¹²⁴ *ILLRP* 258; *CIL* I² 46; XIV 2158.

be relevant to slaves and freedmen, however, by invoking the fire in 31 in Rome, which Dio says was attributed to freedmen, is not convincing. He claims that:

[I]t would, moreover, be astonishing if the freedmen held responsible for the fire in 31 BC had thus destroyed a place consecrated to a cult in which, as freedmen, they played an important role... *Spes* is a public virtue, of the state, which cannot as such concern non-citizens, and so slaves.¹²⁵

As we have just seen, there would be little evidence for the relevance of *HONOS* to slaves or freedmen in Rome but for the chance survival of *Bicoleios*' dedication. *SPES* appears, moreover, to have had another shrine in the east of Rome, known (presumably after Calatinus' temple was built in the mid-third century) as *SPES VETUS*. Nothing is known about this shrine apart from its name, approximate location, and Livy's claim that a battle against the Etruscans was fought *ad SPEI* ('close by *SPES*') in 477–476, followed by another battle (even closer to the city) at the Colline Gate.¹²⁶ The continuance of the toponym *SPES VETUS* at least is well attested by Frontinus in the first century AD and the *Historia Augusta* in the fourth,¹²⁷ and there is no reason to suppose that cult at this shrine must have ceased after the establishment of the public cult in the Forum Holitorium. Here, then, is another cult site, distinct from that established during the Second Punic War, at which those paying cult might have included slaves or freedmen, as at Minturnae. The first hope of a slave might not have been the same as that of a consul sacrificing or making a dedication on behalf of the state, but it is not unreasonable to suppose that each might in Rome have sought the fulfilment of a hope from the divine quality who bore the name *SPES*.

Similar questions can be asked about *MENS*. There is no epigraphic testimony for the cult of *MENS* in Rome itself after the erection of the temple, and, with the exception of Cicero (*Nat. D.* 2.61), no clear literary attestation before Ovid, who, as we have seen, chooses to refer to the deity in terms of the Carthaginian threat under which *MENS* was installed. *MENS BONA*, on the other hand, as well as being

¹²⁵ Dio Cass. 50.10.3. Fabre (1981), 89.

¹²⁶ Livy 2.51.2: the topography of the description is such that Livy cannot be using *ad SPEI* to describe the spot on which Calatinus' temple was later built.

¹²⁷ See Ch. 2 n. 104: Frontin. *Aq.* 1.5, 19, 20, 21, 65, 76, 87; SHA *Heliogab.* 13.5.

drawn on by both Ovid and Propertius in the Augustan age, was the recipient from the later first century (and earlier) of a number of dedications outside Rome: in Paestum, from *magistri* of her *collegium* in Cora, including three recently freed slaves; of an altar stone from two recently freed freedmen and a freedwoman in Alba Fucens; and of another dedication nearby, by three freedmen. The connection of these dedications with the actual obtaining of freedom is strengthened by the specification of the fact that the dedicators had recently been slaves in the dedication from Cora.¹²⁸ Latte claimed that, given that these dedications by freedmen and slaves are largely restricted to central Italy, and since [*sic*]¹²⁹ all date from the imperial period, it is legitimate to doubt whether there is any connection between the *BONA MENS* receiving such dedications and *MENS* whose temple was built on the Capitol in the late third century BC: 'Slaves who had won or hoped to win their freedom through their cunning ["Klugheit"] understood by cunning something very different from what the Roman senate during the Second Punic War understood by it'.¹³⁰

The many attestations from Paestum (in Republic and Empire) and the appearance of *MENS* on coins there led Torelli to suggest that Otacilius, who dedicated the temple in Rome in 215, had rather imported *MENS* to Rome as a goddess like the *BONA MENS* revered in the colony of Paestum, understood as a great divinity of freedmen, sponsoring the enfranchisement of the former slave and guaranteeing to the former master the *BONA MENS* ('good disposition') of ex-slaves—at a time when, in the crises of the Hannibalic war, many slaves were having to be recruited to fight.¹³¹ The cult of *BONA MENS* is also attested

¹²⁸ Ov. *Am.* 1.2.31, Prop. 3.24.19, on which see Ch. 1 above. Paestum: e.g. *ILLRP* 226; *CIL* I² 1616; X 1550 (possibly from Puteoli); Cora: *ILLRP* 225; *CIL* I² 1510; X 6514; Alba Fucens: *ILLRP* 227 and 228; *CIL* I² 1817 and 1818; IX 3910 and 3911. Cf. *ILLRP* 225.

¹²⁹ Latte's claim (1960: 240) that 'it is in the time of the emperors that we first find a selection of inscriptions to Bona Mens outside Rome' is erroneous. The dedications begin in the first century BC, and even earlier (see below on Aquileia). Fabre (1981), 87 and n. 175 points out the gradual disappearance of *BONA MENS*' cult in its connection to slaves under the empire.

¹³⁰ Latte (1960), 240.

¹³¹ Torelli (1999), 74–5, (1980–1), 115, drawing on Fabre (1981), 87 f.; see Missere Fontana (1997), 73 and n. 306. Mello (1968), 33 ff. for a different view. Erskine (2001), 202 addresses Otacilius' Sicilian connection.

in the Republican period in Aquileia, by at least one and probably two inscriptions.¹³² The early date (long before the other ‘municipal’ dedications) and the lack of reference to manumission or changing status suggests that these are unlikely to be merely the earliest example of a separate cult of *BONA MENS* revered by freedmen, although such a possibility cannot be entirely ruled out. Missere Fontana suggests an explanation that links the cult much more closely to the reason proposed earlier for the introduction of *MENS* to Rome. She posits a cult adhered to by various components of the civic body of Aquileia, ‘the semantic value of which, although perceived as “alien”, was the only one that answered a moment of crisis’.¹³³ The crisis in question is the Gallic threat of the late second century which, as we saw in the previous chapter, can also be linked to the contemporaneous refoundation of the temple of *MENS* in Rome. In Livy’s account of the ‘Bacchanalian conspiracy’ of 186, moreover, we find a description of another situation, midway between the foundation and refoundation of the temple of *MENS* in Rome, in which a perceived threat is precisely what is being presented to the people. The consul declares to them, in the speech put into his mouth by Livy: *optare igitur unusquisque vestrum debet, ut BONA MENS suis omnibus fuerit* (‘each of you must therefore pray that *BONA MENS* has been with his friends’).¹³⁴ The distinction between *MENS* and *BONA MENS* thus seems not quite as clear-cut as Latte suggests: without downplaying the importance of *BONA MENS* as a deity significant for slaves (and masters) and freedom, especially in central Italy, we can see both as relevant to threatening situations, both inside and outside Rome. The passage of Livy should not be pressed too hard, but when taken together with the epigraphic material it is suggestive.

Buonocore, moreover, reads a text on a *cippus* of local limestone found in Carsioli in June 1984 and dating to the turn of the first

¹³² *InAq* i, nos. 1 and 12; see Missere Fontana (1997), 65–76, who advocates a date around the end of the second century rather than that under Augustus which had previously been suggested (see p. 66). Both inscriptions are on the surviving upper parts of limestone altars, discovered in 1894. The former, with the text *Atamenti*, is more difficult of interpretation than the latter, which reads *BONAI / MENTI*, but both may conceivably refer to the same deity (*MENS* + celtic ‘ata’, see Missere Fontana (1997), 66–7 and n. 265).

¹³³ *ibid.* 74.

¹³⁴ Livy 39.16.5. For M. Aemilius Scaurus’ triumph *de Galleis Karneis* in 115 see Missere Fontana (1997), 75–6, and Ch. 4 above.

centuries BC and AD, as a dedication to MENS by a *collegium* of four *magistri*, probably freedmen. He further connects it to the otherwise unexplained *magister Iunius* in Carsioli, who he suggests was a religious official carrying out duties connected to the veneration of MENS on 8 June.¹³⁵ His hypothesis rests on very slight evidence ('MENS' is extrapolated from 'M') but might just conceivably provide an example of MENS being invoked (without epithet but perhaps by freedmen) and linked, however tentatively, outside Rome (in a location near Alba Fucens) to the cult in Rome on the Capitol with its festival day of 8 June. If true, this is yet another example of the flexibility of divine qualities. Just as with SPES, the aspect of MENS on which slaves or freedmen might draw would not necessarily resemble that invoked by those sacrificing in Rome on 8 June. This does not, however, imply that MENS and BONA MENS do not share the 'same' divine quality, nor that the semantic connotation found relevant could and did depend in part upon the circumstance and needs of the suppliant.

The evidence for the subsequent involvement in public life and the public lives of individuals of the temples and other resources whose introduction was considered in earlier chapters thus provides instances of interaction with the edifices, and with statues and festivals of their resident deities, by different strata of society, in various areas of civic life, and for a variety of purposes. Divine qualities continued to prove potentially 'good to think with' for a variety of people in and outside the city, from a Gracchan supporter who might have read Nasica's walk from the temple of FIDES in terms of a reversal of that divine quality's rites, to Cicero berating Antony or talking up his own recall, to family members of temple founders or others associating themselves with an aspect of the divine quality to whom the temple was dedicated, to those in Rome or in Capua assessing (and altering) the future and the needs of a community through prodigies and their interpretation and expiation, to individuals, *collegia*, and communities, including slaves and freedmen, making dedications to the aspect or conception of a divine quality most pertinent to them.

¹³⁵ Buonocore (1985), 385–6; *magister Iunius* mentioned in *CIL* IX 4062. See also n. 5 above.

6

The Last Years of the Republic

quod postquam Caesar intellexit incitatis militum animis resisti nullo modo posse, signo FELICITATIS dato equo admisso in hostem contra principes ire contendit.

But after Caesar realized that his troops, with their spirits roused, could in no way be held back, he gave the signal 'FELICITAS', let loose his horse, and rushed against the enemy chiefs.

Caes. *B.Afr.* 83

PASSWORDS

Warde Fowler commented on this description of the opening of the battle of Thapsus in 46: 'That is, as the men insisted on precipitating his plans, [Caesar] could only hope that good luck would follow their enthusiasm'.¹ FELICITAS, however, was a deity with a temple in Rome, set up in the Velabrum, along the triumphal route, by L. Licinius Lucullus in the mid-second century BC after his Spanish campaign. In evoking a deity receiving public cult in Rome, Caesar's choice resembles all the passwords that feature in our surviving accounts of the later years of the Republic. 'Venus Victrix' and 'Hercules Invictus' appear as Caesar and Pompey's respective watchwords at Pharsalus; 'PIETAS' as the password of the Pompeians at Munda; 'LIBERTAS' as

¹ Warde Fowler (1903), 155, going on to suggest that the temple to FELICITAS dedicated by Lepidus (on which see below) might have been vowed by Caesar at Thapsus.

the watchword of the conspirators in the first battle of Philippi; and 'Apollo' as that of Antony and Octavian in the second.² Battlefield passwords were not, of course, first used at this time, but the battles in these years are some of the earliest involving Romans for which passwords are recorded. The surviving evidence hints that those passwords were confined to the names of deities—or rather that those important enough either to be recorded in, or written into, historiography were so confined.³

Such a conclusion is more difficult to sustain for watchwords in general, both because these must have been used daily in great number in all armies and in guarded settlements, and because occasional pieces of evidence point to exceptions.⁴ Even for passwords in battle, the suggestion must remain conjectural, given the relatively small amount of evidence surviving. The use of such passwords and the inscription of such words in accounts of battles nonetheless highlight passwords as another oral resource.⁵ Vegetius' commentary on the various types of *signa* (voiced, semivoiced, and mute) further highlights their importance. 'Many indeed are the orders that must be given and heeded in battle', he comments, 'since there is no pardon for carelessness when the struggle is over SALUS. But among all the rest nothing contributes more to VICTORIA than obeying the warnings of signals' (*multa quidem sunt dicenda atque observanda pugnantibus, siquidem nulla sit neglegentiae venia, ubi de SALUTE certatur. sed inter reliqua nihil magis ad VICTORIAM proficit quam monitis*

² Lucullus: Strabo 8.6.23; Dio Cass. 43.21.1. Passwords: App. *B Civ.* 2.76; 2.104; Dio Cass. 47.43.1; Val. Max. 1.5.7 (*contra*, Plut. *Brut.* 24.7, probably an error). Serv. *Aen.* 7.637 claims as passwords in battle *Lar Deus* (†*bardeus*) for Marius and *Apollo Delphicus* for Sulla.

³ Evidence for battles in Greek history (e.g. Hdt. 9.98.3, Xen. *An.* 1.8.16, 6.5.25, 7.3.39, *Cyr.* 3.3.58, 7.1.10, Polyaeus *Strat.* 3.9.21) suggests that deities were a common choice in important situations, although more mundane words could also be chosen, particularly for night watches.

⁴ Exceptions: e.g. *Aen. Tact.* 24; Polyaeus *Strat.* 1.11; Tac. *Ann.* 13.2; Suet. *Claud.* 42, Dio Cass. 60.16.7. Gods: Suet. *Calig.* 56 and 58 ('Venus', 'Priapus', 'Iuppiter'); Joseph. *AJ* 19.186–8 ('LIBERTAS').

⁵ The best treatment of passwords is that of Roscher (1879), who argued for all passwords in Greek history up to Alexander, and most of those in Roman history, being the names of deities. He omitted some texts that disprove his thesis, however, and did not consider the question of selection and historiographical value in preserving those that are extant. The most recent general treatment is Kubitschek's article on 'Signa' (*RE* 2 A (1923), 2325–47). I hope to treat this subject more fully elsewhere.

obtemperare signorum). The examples that he gives of ‘voiced signals’ (*signa vocalia*) used ‘on watches or in battle’ (*in vigilis aut in proelio*) are “VICTORIA”, “palm”, “god with us”, “triumph of the commander [or emperor]”, and whatever others he who has the greatest power in the army may wish to give’ (‘VICTORIA’, ‘*palma*’, ‘VIRTUS’, ‘*deus nobiscum*’, ‘*triumphus imperatoris*’ et alia, *quaecumque voluerit dare is, qui in exercitu habet maximam potestatem*).⁶ Since Vegetius’ work was most likely compiled in the fourth century AD, these examples cannot necessarily (all) be read back to the Republican period—*deus nobiscum*, in particular, surely better fits a time after the official establishment of Christianity. Vegetius’ comment about the importance of heeding passwords, however, is reminiscent of a similar remark at 1.13, which he attributes to the Elder Cato, namely that all mistakes can be corrected after they are made except errors made fighting in war. It is not impossible that some of the examples of voiced *signa* given by Vegetius came from the same source.⁷ Whatever his sources, two of Vegetius’ five examples (VIRTUS and VICTORIA) are divine qualities, while a third (*palma*) is the attribute of a divine quality and a fourth (*triumphus* [*imperatoris*]) is a quality that appeared on coins in the late Republic. Vegetius also explicitly links the choice of password with the holder of greatest power. Dio, too, includes Fulvia’s giving of the watchword at Praeneste in his summary of the aspects of her ‘command’ in 41 that gave such offence to Octavian.⁸ This, then, was an important oral resource to choose and to control. Although named passwords in ancient literary sources discussing particular battles usually appear without explicit commentary, Appian’s introduction of the passwords chosen by Caesar and Pompey at the battle of Pharsalus clearly presents them as resources in a struggle for power, in the culmination of a whole series of comparisons between the two generals made in the chapters immediately preceding.⁹

⁶ Veg. *Mil.* 3.5 (*edicenda* [‘must be proclaimed’] for *dicenda* in Önnertfors’ 1995 Teubner edn.).

⁷ Milner (1996) ad loc. notes the connection with 1.13, although he does not believe it likely (at 1.15) that Vegetius had direct access to Cato’s *de Re Militari*.

⁸ See Ch. 4, pp. 160–1 for *triumpus*. Fulvia: Dio 48.10.4.

⁹ App. *B. Civ.* 2.76. Also worth noting is Dio’s only partial knowledge of the watchwords at Philippi, and his interest in only one of them (47.43.1): *Κάκ τούτου πρώτων μὲν τὰ συνθήματα αὐτοῖς διήλθεν* (ἦν δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βρούτου

Any word, during and through its inscription and/or enunciation as a password or watchword, of necessity gained a particular importance. It was, very simply, the means by which men recognized each other as part of a collective, the sign that was chosen to link them together for the space of a night or the length of a battle. Choosing a word that was the name of, or otherwise connoted, a deity contributed further to that importance, because it inferred support from that deity in battle, or supplication for such support, for the side linked together by the deity's name or attribute. All the examples given above come from civil wars: those of Caesar against Pompey, Caesar against Pompeians, and Brutus and Cassius against Antony and Octavian. As such they involved, for *each* side, a struggle for Rome and for supremacy over Rome, against others who shared, to a large extent, the vocabulary and socio-religious structures of knowledge available to 'Romans'. In such cases the choice of *signum* had even greater importance, since commanders on both sides were drawing from the same broad range of possibilities. This may partially explain the survival of these passwords, and/or their value in surviving accounts. This, then, is another significant way in which divine qualities were drawn upon, for they constitute half the known examples of passwords from the period of the civil wars. These passwords were mobilized away from Rome, but from the battlefields and camps they created links to the city, its cults, its histories, and to ideas of all these, among groups of men fighting (in some cases) for Rome as they conceived of it, or wished to conceive of it.

During the last twenty-five years of Cicero's life, Caesar and Pompey created huge advantages for themselves in terms of capacity effectively to mobilize resources of many kinds. The collaboration and competition between these two men in particular, but also struggles such as those between Cicero and Clodius and, indeed, interactions by many others of whom we will now never hear, were played out in a number of different fields. Pompey and Caesar may finally have decided their struggle with the sword at Pharsalus, but they also vied with words (their own and those of others) and in stone (in the physical transformation of the city of Rome itself). An exploration of those words

¹ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑ, τοῖς δὲ ἑτέροις ὅ τι ποτὲ καὶ ἐδόθη) ('And as a result of this first they gave them the passwords (LIBERTAS for Brutus' men; whatever the other gave his men)').

that could be embodied *in* stone makes clear their continuing role as *foci* for claims made by, and views held of, the ‘great men’ of this period. For, from the large number of resources empire-wide over which Pompey, and especially Caesar, enjoyed ever-increasing control in these years, a large number expressed divine qualities. The extant sources for these years yield evidence for some resources previously unattested, such as passwords, and also colony-names. These, together with temples, games, coins, plays, speeches, and writing (new and old), continued to serve as spaces in which alternative visions and readings could be articulated. Despite the focus of extant sources upon the ‘great’ commanders, these resources were not available or of relevance only to such men. The physical situation of some of these resources in wider complexes (such as Pompey’s on the Campus Martius or Caesar’s reshaping of the Roman Forum) did, however, give these men further scope to try to limit or control the associations and meanings that could be evoked by and for those coming into contact with such spaces.

WHOSE LIBERTAS? DIVINE QUALITIES IN CICERONIAN ORATORY

The ‘great commanders’ were not alone in creating shrines to divine qualities in this period. The second shrine attested to *LIBERTAS* in Rome, which is also the first shrine known to us to have been dedicated by a tribune, is unusually well documented because of Cicero’s direct involvement in its history.¹⁰ Cicero’s polemic on Clodius’ consecration to *LIBERTAS* of the site of Cicero’s Palatine house, together with Clodius’ reported reaction to the pontiffs’ ruling on the case, illustrate important ways in which such foundations were made parts of public life.¹¹ Clodius chose carefully his weapons for attacking Cicero. Consecrating the site was a logical step towards

¹⁰ It may be the first to *LIBERTAS* alone, if Ti. Sempronius Gracchus’ third-century foundation was to Iuppiter *LIBERTAS* (see Ch. 2). Wirszubski’s excellent study (1950) surprisingly makes no reference to it.

¹¹ Tatum (1999), 156–66, 187–94, 198–9, 215–19 provides a rich and sensible discussion of these episodes, particularly of the symbolic value of house and shrine (156–66) and the different connotations of *LIBERTAS* drawn upon by Clodius (165).

preventing Cicero ever being able to inhabit his house again, if ultimately an unsuccessful one. Building a shrine to *LIBERTAS* upon part of it and on the *porticus* of Catulus went further, however, and was intended to be a permanent reminder of the fall of Cicero, 'the tyrant' who had condemned the Catilinarians to death without trial, and of the success of Clodius in bringing about his fall.¹² This success was celebrated under the name of *LIBERTAS* in an attempt to evoke stories like Brutus' overthrow of Tarquinius Superbus.¹³ This, Clodius' second attack, after his success in forcing Cicero into exile, was framed in terms of protection of *and* by a divine quality on Clodius' part, and of sacrilege towards that same divine quality on Cicero's. It echoes Cicero's own acts in accusing Clodius of sacrilege in the Bona Dea scandal and then in leaving a statuette of Minerva to protect Rome while he was in exile. *LIBERTAS*, however, served for Clodius as the summarizing symbol of both attack *and* protection.¹⁴ This dispute emphatically should not be thought of only in terms of 'political' arguments in which 'slogans' and 'catchwords' were used and abused, as though the tone given to *LIBERTAS* by its being a *divine* quality were less relevant in this case than in others, simply because Cicero won and because he denigrated the shrine and cult statue in his oratory. The contest articulated around this shrine and statue to *LIBERTAS* was very real, and the exegetical charge of *LIBERTAS* was strengthened through such struggles.

The site of the shrine was highly significant. Cicero conveyed his complaint to the *pontifices* precisely in terms of visibility, highlighting the importance of this aspect of the site, in terms both of his

¹² On the association of *LIBERTAS* and *provocatio*, see e.g. Cic. *Verr.* 5.163, Livy 3.55.4, and Ch. 4.

¹³ Liou-Gille (1998), esp. 53–9 makes a persuasive case for Clodius' deliberate historical reconstruction, in his actions towards Cicero's house, of the *consecratio bonorum* ('consecration of goods') inflicted upon Tarquinius Superbus. Clodius' interest in Cicero's house may in part, as Cicero claims, have been in maximizing (in terms of area and impact) his property on the Palatine, but Cerutti's assertion (1997), 420 that Clodius must have intended swiftly to deconsecrate or remove the shrine is not convincing, whether it is based on a misinterpretation of Cic. *Att.* 4.1.7 (see Tatum (1999), 187–8 on such misunderstandings) or on an unhelpful conceptual separation in his analysis of 'political' manoeuvring from 'sacred' building.

¹⁴ On Clodius' interaction with religion in general see Gallini (1962). Minerva statuette: Plut. *Cic.* 31.6 and also *Leg.* 2.42, discussed by Allen (1944) and Berg (1997), 139.

decision to establish his city home there and of his public humiliation, when he *saw*, and knew that others also constantly saw, the structure erected by Clodius. He claimed that *in conspectu prope totius urbis domus est mea* ('my house is in sight of almost the whole city') and that the shrine was visible from *urbis... celeberrimae et maximae partes* ('the most frequented and greatest parts... of the city'). No ancient source records the exact position of Cicero's house, but it must have been at the top of the *via sacra*, on the first rise of the Palatine slope, to the east of the Vestals' precinct, near the branch off to the *via Nova*.¹⁵ Picard's conjectural reconstruction of Clodius' monument presents it as a *tholos* on a highly visible base, sheltering the statue of *LIBERTAS* and carrying a dedication on its socle. If this bears any resemblance to its actual appearance then Cicero exaggerated neither its prominence nor the large number of people who would regularly have seen it.¹⁶ *LIBERTAS*' new home in the city occupied a highly noticeable space, and focused diametrically opposed readings of the divine quality's relationship to Clodius, Cicero, and others. The reactions preserved in the extant sources are those of the protagonists in the argument over whether the shrine should stay. As such, they are likely to represent extremes of the spectrum of possible interpretations of these relationships. Such a shrine must nevertheless have provoked other, strong reactions in viewers with differing opinions of the situation. It all but demanded a reaction, and may thus have perpetuated discussion of the issue in the city.¹⁷

Cicero himself, when pleading for his house, did not avoid making *LIBERTAS* one of the weapons with which he attacked Clodius. He too was able to claim *LIBERTAS* for Rome and for himself. He accused his enemy of having installed in his (Cicero's) house 'that which [or her whom] you have expelled from the whole city' (*quam ex urbe tota sustulisti*). In an attempt to (re)appropriate what Clodius had

¹⁵ Cic. *Dom.* 100, 146. Location: Carandini (1986), 263–8, Papi (1995), Berg (1997), Cerutti (1997), Royo (1999), Tatum (1999), 160–2.

¹⁶ Picard (1965), esp. 232–5, drawing parallels with the sanctuary of *FORTUNA* at Praeneste and the mausoleum of the Julii at Glanum (Saint-Rémy). Although entirely conjectural, his reconstruction is 'intelligent' (Tatum (1999), 165) and more persuasive than the 'diminutive' shrine, built for swift deconsecration or removal elsewhere, proposed by Cerutti (1997), 420 (n. 13 above).

¹⁷ The airing of such interpretations in other spaces by a wider spectrum of inhabitants is discussed in 'Drama in New Contexts' on p. 220 below.

employed against him, he also tried to underline the injustice of the situation, by asking whether LIBERTAS should have driven from his house him of all men, without whom the whole state would have fallen into the power of slaves (*eumne potissimum LIBERTAS domo sua debuit pellere, qui nisi fuisset, in servorum potestatem civitas tota venisset?*).¹⁸ Not only had Clodius ousted the true LIBERTAS from Rome, but he had introduced in her place 'some harlot from Tanagra' (*Tanagraea quaedam meretrix*), 'that Tanagran LIBERTAS, when LIBERTAS had been crushed' (*ista Tanagraea oppressa LIBERTATE LIBERTAS*).¹⁹ Clodius had chosen LIBERTAS as a divine quality with whom the groups whose support he sought would identify. Cicero, wishing to present LIBERTAS as belonging to himself and—through himself—to Rome, raised the debate to the supra-civic level by introducing an opposition between Rome and an external location (Tanagra).

The argument continued, moreover, to be articulated around the shrine's occupant: according to Cicero's description of how Clodius reacted to the pontiffs' judgement, the ex-tribune in a *contio* '[now] announced to the people that the pontiffs had decreed in his favour, and that I was trying to gain possession by force; he encouraged them to follow himself and Appius and to defend their LIBERTAS' (*nuntiat [iam] populo pontifices secundum se decrevisse, me autem vi conari in possessionem venire; hortatur ut se et Appium sequantur et suam LIBERTATEM ut defendant*).²⁰ In another *contio* in the same year (57), Clodius allegedly threatened to build 'another porticus, to match that on the Palatine' (*alteram porticum, quae Palatio responderet*) in the Carinae, where Pompey's residence then was. If he did make such a threat he was attempting to accuse Pompey of a violation of LIBERTAS similar to that which he had laid against Cicero through the Palatine shrine.²¹

¹⁸ *Dom.* 110.

¹⁹ *ibid.* 111, 116: see Ch. 4 n. 83. Tanagra was known for its production of terracotta figurines.

²⁰ *Cic. Att.* 4.2.3 (early Oct. 57); cf. 4.3.2 (22 Nov. 57, retailing the attempts by armed gangs to prevent the rebuilding of his house), in which Cicero tells Atticus that Clodius was offering 'SPEM LIBERTATIS' to slaves—probably a misrepresentation, as Tatum (1999), 193 rightly remarks, of Clodius' appeal through LIBERTAS to the *collegia*.

²¹ *Cic. Har. resp.* 49, with Tatum (1999), 174.

Relatively few examples of such contional oratory survive. Clodius' words here, like those of others elsewhere, are of course filtered for us through Cicero. He suggests not only that Clodius talked to the people about LIBERTAS, but also that Cato talked in a turbulent *contio* about slaves who defended their master's life deserving LIBERTAS, and that Pompey in a *contio* associated Cicero himself with SALUS. Extant contional speeches comprise only the few delivered and subsequently published by Cicero, and those put into the mouths of speakers by Sallust. This makes it difficult to generalize about the extent to which divine qualities featured in such addresses.²² A (statistically insignificant) comparison of Cicero's respective speeches to people and senate on his return from exile certainly suggests that divine qualities could feature in *contiones*. It hints, moreover, that they featured with not dissimilar frequency in speeches to both kinds of audience.²³ Those divine qualities most often associated with the *populus Romanus* in Cicero's extant contional oratory were, unsurprisingly, LIBERTAS and SALUS, but he also (claims to have) talked to the people of FORTUN[AS] commun[es] and civium FIDEM ('shared FORTUNAE', and 'FIDES of the citizens').²⁴ It was in *contiones*, too, that Cicero claimed VIRTUS to be 'the particular possession of the Roman stock and seed' (*propria... Romani generis et seminis*), and asserted that it was 'through VIRTUS' (VIRTUTE) that *your* ancestors conquered so many lands and peoples, through 'your enthusiasm and VIRTUS' (*vestro studio et VIRTUTE*) that Catiline had been broken, and through 'your... CONCORDIA..., [and] through the FELICITAS and VIRTUS of your armies and leaders' (*vestra... CONCORDIA... FELICITATE et*

²² Cic. *Mil.* 58 (Cato); *Red. pop.* 16 (Pompey). Morstein-Marx (2004), 23–31 and 117–18 has the right approach to contional speeches as published, and to comparisons of senatorial and popular oratory.

²³ Number of occurrences given are those in *Red. pop.* followed by *Red. sen.*: CLEMENTIA (0, 1); CONCORDIA (1, 1); FELICITAS (none); FIDES (2, 6); FORTUNA (6, 2); HONOS (1, 1); LIBERTAS (1, 3); MENS (none); OPS (none); PIETAS (4, 2); SALUS (12, 29); SPES (1, 5); VICTORIA (none); VIRTUS (7, 12). Their frequency varies in the orations given by Sallust to Lepidus, Cotta, Macer, Memmius, and Marius: LIBERTAS is again most frequent, but SALUS appears only once (*Hist.* 2.47.9); of the divine qualities listed above, only FELICITAS does not appear in any of these five speeches, and also features only once in the Ciceronian contional 'corpus' (at *Phil.* 4.15, quoted below).

²⁴ Cic. *Rab. perd.* 3.

VIRTUTE exercituum ducumque vestrorum) that Antony would be defeated.²⁵ Other divine qualities were more usually associated with speakers and leaders than with those listening, but in these cases, too, the people formed a knowledgeable and necessary audience for, and hence part of, competitions for association with them. Cicero, for example, thought it suitable in contional oratory to describe Marius as having had to fight not only those who wished to destroy society but *etiam cum FORTUNA belligerandum* ('even having [had] to wage war with FORTUNA').²⁶ The temple put up by Catulus at the very end of the second century, after the Cimbric Wars, when Marius' temple to HONOS and VIRTUS was being built, was, as we have seen, to a FORTUNA (HUIUSCE DIEI). Morstein-Marx has drawn our attention to the high level of detailed knowledge about Rome, its monuments, and history held by contional audiences (who did not, of course, constitute a representative sample of 'the people', although they were, significantly, represented as 'the people' by those addressing them).²⁷ In light of this evidence, we should take seriously the possibility that this phrase might have been sufficient to evoke Marius and Catulus' rivalry, for some of those listening. More tentatively, we might note Cicero's description of Hortensius in *de Lege Manilia*, made immediately after his verbal depiction of Catulus' son. An association is made through word order on which, again, some of those listening might have been expected to pick up: *At enim vir clarissimus, amantissimus rei publicae, vestris beneficiis amplissimis adfectus, Q. Catulus, itemque summis ornamentis HONORIS, FORTUNAE, VIRTUTIS, ingeni praeditus, Q. Hortensius...* ('For that most famous man, who cares so much for the *res publica*, and is graced with your greatest favours, Q. Catulus, and likewise, endowed with the greatest ornaments of HONOS, FORTUNA, VIRTUS, and intellect, Q. Hortensius...').²⁸

Personification of qualities in Cicero's public speeches, to both senate and people, was, following long poetic precedent, not limited to divine qualities. The language in which he presented the latter nonetheless often stressed their simultaneously divine and discursive nature. He describes VICTORIA, for example, as witness and as judge;

²⁵ Cic. *Phil.* 4.13 (see Ch. 1 n. 9), 15.

²⁶ Cic. *Red. pop.* 19.

²⁷ Morstein-Marx (2004), ch. 3, esp. 72–7 on *Leg. agr.* 2.

²⁸ Cic. *Leg. Man.* 51.

SALUS as being unable to protect brave men's innocence; VIRTUS as lacking a field on which to run out, as charming brave men by her beauty and appearance, crushing madmen, and forcing Rabirius to join the consuls; LIBERTAS he describes raising her head and approaching 'us'; FORTUNA REI PUBLICAE is said to be keeping Pompey busy in all kinds of wars; FORTUNA POPULI ROMANI is described as bringing Pompey to Asia; and FIDES is represented leading Cicero himself.²⁹

Cicero may well have made use of the proximity of edifices dedicated to divine qualities in his oratory, particularly in speeches delivered in the Forum, so close to the Capitol and its shrines. Before Clodius built his provocative shrine to LIBERTAS, Cicero spoke to the senate in the temple of CONCORDIA at the northern end of the Forum, in his fourth oration against Catiline. He described the crowd assembled outside, emphasizing (or rather attempting rhetorically to construct) the unprecedented unity of all. He posed a rhetorical question: 'For who is there for whom these temples, the sight of the city, the possession of LIBERTAS, and finally this light and the common ground of our native land is not dear and sweet and pleasant?' (*Quis est enim cui non haec templa, aspectus urbis, possessio LIBERTATIS, lux denique haec ipsa et commune patriae solum cum sit carum tum vero dulce atque iucundum?*).³⁰ A part at least of all the elements mentioned (*templa, urbs, lux, solum*) was immediately visible outside the temple of CONCORDIA. In such a context *possessio LIBERTATIS*, too, might have drawn, whether by deliberate gesture or

²⁹ Personification of other qualities: e.g. *Clu.* 88 (*veritas*), *Phil.* 6.4 (*libido, levitas, furor, vinulentia*), 13.6, 16 (*sapientia, natura*), *Rosc. Am.* 83 (*cupiditas*), cf. *Fam.* 5.12.3 on *voluptas* (echoing Xenophon). VICTORIA: *Flac. Frg.* Cusana: *cum... ipsa VICTORIA sit testis* ('since... VICTORIA herself is witness'), *Phil.* 11.34; SALUS: *Font.* 21: *SALUS ipsa virorum fortium innocentiam tueri non potest* ('SALUS herself cannot protect the innocence of brave men', cf. *Cic. Sull.* 23, also *Ter. Ad.* 761–2); VIRTUS: *Mur.* 18: *nullum... campum dedit in quo excurrere VIRTUS cognoscique posset* ('[the drawing of the lots] gave you no field on which VIRTUS could run out and become known'), *Pis.* 81, *Phil.* 10.11, *Rab. perd.* 24; LIBERTAS: *Planc.* 33: *extollere iam caput* ('[should] now raise its/her head'), *Phil.* 4.10: *ut... nobis LIBERTAS adpropinquet* ('that... LIBERTAS is approaching us'); FORTUNA: *Leg. Man.* 28: *in quo... exercuerit FORTUNA rei publicae* ('in which FORTUNA of the *res publica* has given him practice') and *Leg. Man.* 45, discussed further in n. 133; FIDES: *Rosc. Am.* 83: *ducit... FIDES* ('FIDES... leads [me]'); note also *FELICITAS* at *Leg. agr.* 1.5.

³⁰ *Cic. Cat.* 4.16.

merely in the minds of some of his listeners, upon the location of the *atrium LIBERTATIS* in the vicinity.³¹ Just as Cicero accused Clodius of expelling *LIBERTAS* from Rome and was himself accused by Clodius of being an *ereptor LIBERTATIS* ('plunderer of *LIBERTAS*') in the conflict during which a new space for *LIBERTAS* was created on the Palatine, so when speaking against Rullus' agrarian bill in 63 Cicero told the senate that 'you have removed *FIDES* from the Forum' (*FIDEM de foro... sustulistis*) and told the people that '*FIDES* had been removed from the Forum' (*sublata erat de foro FIDES*). In 46, thanking Caesar for the restoration of Marcellus, he declared that '*FIDES* must be recalled' (*revocanda FIDES*).³² In his defence of Milo he expressed a wish that it might be through him alone that three almost alliterative pairs, the latter in each case a divine quality (*ius AEQUITAS*, *leges LIBERTAS*, *pudor PUDICITIA*) might remain in the *civitas*.³³ Deliberately or not, this technique reinforced links between such divine qualities and the urban and civic environment.

During the years when the very existence and location of the *res publica* was questioned, moreover, the presence or absence of divine qualities in the city could be used as a register in which anxiety over the condition of the state itself was expressed. At the end of the published version of his defence of Milo, Cicero claimed that, '[Milo] thinks that a place of exile is one where there is no place for *VIRTUS*' (*exsilium ibi esse putat, ubi VIRTUTI non sit locus*).³⁴ Cicero himself, in his various uses of exile as metaphor in discussing his own life, displayed a certain ambivalence about the synonymy of Rome the city and the *res publica*. With Caesar approaching Rome in 49, he imagined a conversation with Pompey, who had left the city.

³¹ Purcell (1993) and Coarelli (2000b), 7–10 give current theories on the location of this building, where, among other activities, slaves were manumitted (Liv. 45.15.5) and, on one occasion at least, examined under torture (Cic. *Mil.* 59). All plausible hypotheses are close to the temple of *CONCORDIA*.

³² *Sest.* 109, cf. Cicero's reference to *ereptam LIBERTATEM populis ac singulis* ('*LIBERTAS* snatched from peoples and individuals') when attacking Piso (*Pis.* 90); *Leg. agr.* 1.23: *FIDES* is here connected with commerce. For its/her connection to (financial) credit, see Ch. 3 n. 82 and the words given by Dion. Hal. 5.68.4 to Appius Claudius, discussed in Ch. 5 n. 15; *Leg. agr.* 2.8; *Marcell.* 23. The temple of *FIDES* stood not in the Forum itself, of course, but in the south-west precinct of the *area Capitolina*. There, known to those listening, it could be gestured towards.

³³ *Mil.* 77. Axtell (1987/1907), 32–3 has fuller details about *AEQUITAS*.

³⁴ *Mil.* 101.

Pompey suggested that Cicero, too, would have left had the Gauls been approaching, since ‘the *res publica* is not located in walls’ (*non est... in parietibus res publica*). Cicero commented, ‘but in altars and hearths’ (*at in aris et focus*), imputing a definite importance to location.³⁵ In his speeches on returning from exile in 57, however, he had sought to show that not he, but Clodius, had been the exile, since Cicero had ‘realized’ that:

I would not be away from this city for longer than was the *res publica*, and with the *res publica* exiled, I thought that I should not remain longer in the city, and as soon as the *res publica* was recalled, it brought me back with it as well. The laws were absent with me, the courts were absent with me, the rights of the magistrates, the authority of the senate, *LIBERTAS*, even the richness of the land, all sanctity and all duties of gods and men were absent with me.³⁶ (*sed cum viderem me non diutius quam ipsam rem publicam ex hac urbe afuturum, neque ego illa exterminata mihi remanendum putavi, et illa, simul atque revocata est, me secum pariter reportavit. mecum leges, mecum quaestiones, mecum iura magistratuum, mecum senatus auctoritas, mecum LIBERTAS, mecum etiam frugum ubertas, mecum deorum et hominum sanctitates et religiones afuerunt.*)

Once again he suggests that *LIBERTAS*, installed on the Palatine according to Clodius, had been expelled from the city and accompanied Cicero along with the rest of the *res publica*.³⁷ In March of 56, he yet again took the opportunity, when defending Sestius, to dwell at length upon his own exile and upon his recall the previous year. Asserting that suicide would, for him, have constituted a betrayal of the *res publica*, he boldly claimed that, ‘in that [*res publica*] indeed, now that I have been restored, *there lives in me an example of FIDES PUBLICA*. If this example is preserved for ever, who does not understand that this state will endure for ever?’ (*in qua [re publica] quidem*

³⁵ *Att.* 7.11.3. Cf. the ideas of the importance of the location and shrines of the city itself found in the speech given by Livy to Camillus, arguing against Romans leaving Rome for Veii after the Gallic sack (5.51–4, and see 1.55 on the earlier ‘refusal’ of Terminus to move when Tarquinius Superbus wished to clear the area of his new temple of Iuppiter), although Camillus’ representation in terms likening him to Augustus probably lies behind these. See Coudry (2001), 59–65 on the Augustan Camillus and 79 on the issue of location.

³⁶ *Red. sen.* 34; see also *Paradoxa Stoicorum.* 27–8, *Red. pop.* 14.

³⁷ Cf. Cicero’s assimilation of himself and Marius to *SALUS*, who/which is presented as travelling to Rome (*Sull.* 23).

*nunc me restituto vivit mecum simul exemplum FIDEI publicae. Quod si immortale retinetur, quis non intellegit immortalem hanc civitatem futuram?).*³⁸ Cicero seeks to identify himself inextricably with the survival of the *res publica* through the assimilation or inextricable association of his own person with *FIDES*.

Divine qualities also feature prominently in Cicero's attempts to delineate an 'inclusive' community, however narrow, whether through the association of Rome and Romans with *PIETAS*, *VIRTUS*, or *LIBERTAS*, or through the sharing of a divine quality by members of one *gens*.³⁹ When Cicero listed for the people those qualities fighting on 'his side' against Catiline, divine qualities featured at both beginning and end of the list: 'For on one side fights modesty, on the other wantonness, on one *PUDICITIA*, on the other disgrace, on one *FIDES*, on the other deceit, on one side *PIETAS*, on the other wickedness... sound *MENS* with senselessness, finally *BONA SPES* with the despair of everything' (*Ex hac enim parte pudor pugnat, illinc petulantia; hinc PUDICITIA, illinc stuprum; hinc FIDES, illinc fraudatio; hinc PIETAS, illinc scelus... MENS sana cum amentia, BONA denique SPES cum omnium rerum desperatione confligit*). He described for the senate both *FORTUNA POPULI ROMANI* stopping Catiline and some *FORTUNA REI PUBLICAE* shutting out Mark Antony.⁴⁰ Exclusion could operate on the same principle: Cicero presented Catiline's followers as a band of criminals, gathered 'from corrupt men, deserted not only by every *FORTUNA* but even by *SPES*' (*ex perditis atque ab omni non modo FORTUNA verum etiam SPE derelictis*), and

³⁸ Cic. *Sest.* 50.

³⁹ Romans: e.g. *Har. resp.* 19 addressing the senators on the qualities in which 'we' (*nos*) were outshone by other peoples (*numerus, robor, calliditas, artes, domesticus sensus*) and that in which 'we' excel (*PIETAS*); *Mur.* 22 on (*bellica*) *VIRTUS* winning a name and glory for and obedience to the Roman people; *Phil.* 8.23 evoking the *VIRTUS... maiorum* ('*VIRTUS... of the ancestors*'); Cicero addressing the people on *VIRTUS* in the history of Rome (*Phil.* 4.13, discussed above); and *Phil.* 6.19, also discussed above, on *LIBERTAS* as *populi Romani... propria* ('the Roman people's own', cf. 10.20). *gens*: *Har. resp.* 22 on the shared *VIRTUS* of Lentulus in public matters and his grandfather in private; *Mur.* 66 on Cato's discussion of the *VIRTUS* of his ancestor as a *domesticum... exemplum ad imitandum* ('domestic example to be imitated'); *Phil.* 4.7 emphasizing in a *contio* a link between Brutus and *LIBERTAS POPULI ROMANI*, cf. 12.22 describing Decimus Brutus as *illud pignus LIBERTATIS POPULI ROMANI* ('that pledge of *LIBERTAS* of the Roman people').

⁴⁰ Cic. *Cat.* 2.25; Cic. *Cat.* 1.15; *Phil.* 5.29.

impugned the testimony of the Gauls against Fonteius, as we have seen, by describing them as having forfeited *FIDES* and *HONOS*, and as lacking *FIDES* and *PIETAS*.⁴¹ He later told the people that in Antony there was 'no *FIDES*', asking, *nam CONCORDIAM civium qui habere potest, nullam cum habet civitatem? pacis vero quae potest esse cum eo ratio, in quo est incredibilis crudelitas, FIDES nulla?* ('For who can enjoy *CONCORDIA* of the citizens, when he has no community? What peace discussions, indeed, can there be with a man in whom there is incredible cruelty and no *FIDES*?'). He was obliged to devalue Catiline's *VIRTUS*—and yet still to explain Catiline's hold over 'many brave and good men' (*multos fortes viros et bonos*)—by presenting this merely as 'the semblance of *VIRTUS*' (*specie[s] ... VIRTUTIS*).⁴² In Sallust's presentation, Catiline appealed to his daring and wanton followers with the words: 'If your *VIRTUS* and *FIDES* had not been proved to me, this favourable opportunity would have occurred in vain; ... surely it is preferable to die through *VIRTUS* than to lose a wretched and shameful life through dishonour...? But indeed by *FIDES* of gods and men *VICTORIA* is in our grasp...' (*ni VIRTUS FIDESQUE vostra spectata mihi forent, nequiquam opportuna res cecidisset; ... Nonne emori per VIRTUTEM praestat quam vitam miseram atque inhonestam... per dedecus amittere? Verum enimvero, pro deum atque hominum FIDEM VICTORIA in manu nobis est...*). Sklenár draws attention to the way in which Sallust's Catiline begins by invoking 'of all things' the *VIRTUS* and *FIDES* of his friends, to illustrate how Sallust followed Thucydides on the question of language in civil strife. In his view, 'the ultimate horror of the Catilinarian crisis [for Sallust] is that it has bequeathed to him a moral vocabulary so riven by ambiguities and contradictions that even Catiline himself... can cite it for his purpose'. 'Ambiguities and contradictions', however, are not a pathological breakdown of order, but part of the way this vocabulary has always operated. What the speech illustrates is how these qualities could be drawn upon by, and be of significance to, a range of different individuals. The way in which Sallust himself describes Catiline dying, fighting bravely with his comrades, at the

⁴¹ *Cat.* 1.25 (cf. *Hor. Carm.* 1.35); *Font.* 15; 31 (see Ch. 4).

⁴² *Phil.* 4.14, cf. 7.16; *Cael.* 14. A similar tactic is taken with Caesar's *CLEMENTIA* at *Phil.* 2.116 (on which p. 253 below).

end of the *Bellum Catilinae* should moreover lead us to question the assumption that he is portrayed as lacking either *VIRTUS* or *FIDES* in his relations with those with whom he allied himself.⁴³

DRAMA IN NEW CONTEXTS

Nearly all that is preserved of reactions to particular parts of Cicero's speeches is what Cicero himself chose to incorporate in the published versions of those addresses.⁴⁴ He also records, however, on a number of occasions the 'rereading' by actors and audiences of lines of old and familiar plays. He thereby provides some insight into how—and to what extent—particular issues were reacted to in public.⁴⁵ *LIBERTAS*, for example, was given a topical 'rereading' at the *ludi Apollinares* in 57, shortly before Cicero's recall from exile. A line of Accius' *Brutus* survives for us, as Wiseman points out, entirely by chance, because Cicero mentions one reperformance of the play that affected him personally. It reads, 'Tullius, who had established *LIBERTAS* for the citizens' (*Tullius, qui LIBERTATEM civibus stabiliverat*) and was, in Cicero's words, 'encored a thousand times' (*miliens revocatum est*).⁴⁶ No doubt only certain members of the audience joined in. The play is likely to have focused on the foundation of the Republic, and thus on Brutus' (re-)establishment of *LIBERTAS* 'for the citizens'. In this line, however, credit for such an act is given to a king (Servius Tullius), who according to the tradition was dead before Tarquinius Superbus was overthrown and Republican government established. Kingship and tyranny must then have been

⁴³ Sall. *Cat.* 20.2, 9–10; Sklenár (1998), 219 and n. 47. On Thuc. 3.82 see Worthington (1982), Wilson (1982), and esp. Loraux (1986); Sallust on Catiline: *Cat.* 61.

⁴⁴ Well analysed by Morstein-Marx (2004) ch. 4, esp. 134–43 on clagues, claptrap, and 'contional ventriloquism'.

⁴⁵ e.g. Cic. *Sest.* 118–23. Wright (1931), 4–9 gives a fuller list of instances of popular expressions of feeling, particularly those made through the application of dramatic lines and situations to 'current affairs'. See further n. 56 below.

⁴⁶ Cic. *Sest.* 123. Wiseman (1994), p. xi rightly emphasizes how many other, similar performances may have happened without evidence surviving of their staging or reception.

differentiated in this play. Attempts to discern Accius' views through the fragments and titles of such plays are inevitably open to contestation. Bilinski may well infer too much from too little when he claims that Accius' plays spoke on behalf of the 'optimates' and associated tyranny with reformists like the Gracchi—so that the *Brutus*, for example, attempted to justify the actions of his patron, D. Iunius Brutus Callaicus, and others who helped to put down such reformers.⁴⁷ Simply by inferring that the play was concerned with forms of rule and with the relationship of *LIBERTAS* to such rule, however, and by seeing—as we may from this quotation—that *LIBERTAS* was connected with Roman citizens in a line of the play, we are able to understand early stagings of this play as further occasions on which claims, or questions, about a community were articulated around a divine quality. In the performance in 57, as the Bobiensian Scholiast remarks, the line was understood in a different, contemporary context.⁴⁸ This performance was yet another episode in an ongoing debate about *LIBERTAS* and where it was to be found, and the line struck a chord in its association of 'Tullius' (Cicero) and *LIBERTAS*. The 'tone' of *LIBERTAS* at this time had been intensified by Clodius' setting up of his shrine, and it is likely that the resonance of the line with the audience was partly connected to this and to the argument it provoked.

Eleven years after this event, Cicero, who disliked mime, proudly informed Cornificius in a letter that he had listened 'in a most tranquil frame of mind' (*animo aequisssimo*) to Syrus' and Laberius' verses at the *ludi VICTORIAE CAESARIS*. Publius Syrus had thrown down a challenge to all comers and Caesar, possibly at Publius' behest, compelled Laberius, then 60 years old, to compete against him.⁴⁹ Laberius, too, delivered a resonant line including *LIBERTAS*. Dressed as a slave, he declared "on, citizens, we are losing *LIBERTAS*"... after he had said this the whole people turned to look at one

⁴⁷ Bilinski (1958), part 2. Manuwald (2001), 234–7, summarizing previous discussion on the *Brutus*, its performance, and reperformance, is right to be more cautious, but is overly dismissive of such theories about the play's relationship to events of Accius' time, simply because they must remain hypothetical.

⁴⁸ Schol. Bob. ad Cic. *Sest.* 123.

⁴⁹ Cic. *Fam.* 12.18.2 (c. Dec. 46); Macrobian *Sat.* 2.7.7–9 and Suet. *Iul.* 39 (Publius won, but Laberius had his equestrian rank restored).

man, Caesar' ('porro, Quirites, *LIBERTATEM* perdimus'... *quo dicto universitas populi ad solum Caesarem oculos et ora convertit*).⁵⁰ Two years later, in the month after Caesar's murder, Cicero expressed pleasure at Atticus' news of a demonstration in the theatre in favour of Brutus and Cassius. The next day he asked his friend for further details about 'popular acclamation and the witty sayings in the mimes' (*populi ἐπισημασίαν et mimorum dicta*). These allusive references do not reveal the precise line or lines that provoked the demonstration, but they do imply both Publilius' presence and that some element of his performance had a clear topicality and had been well received by the crowd—perhaps a reference to Caesar's death, as Shackleton-Bailey surmises.⁵¹

Publilius' work survives in some quantity, albeit in decontextualized, selective, and didactic form, as apophthegms delivered by different characters, which were excerpted and alphabetized from the mid-first century AD for schoolboys to memorize as proverbial wisdoms. No further details have come down to us of the mimes performed. Only two of Publilius' titles survive, and Senecan accretions have, moreover, joined Publilian 'originals' in the manuscript tradition. It is thus impossible to contextualize any line in terms of the character who delivered it or of where the play might have been performed.⁵² Publilius played in other parts of Italy as well as in Rome, but since he is known to have been prominent in the city, it is still worth considering a range of surviving *sententiae* in light of possible performance spaces, and noting the prominence of certain divine qualities in the lines that survive. Other qualities or concepts, especially *necessitas* and *cupiditas*, appear personified. Indeed, the *sententiae* are all framed in terms of qualities: *non semper aurem facilem habet FELICITAS* ('FELICITAS does not always have a ready ear'); *potens misericors publica est FELICITAS* ('public FELICITAS is being merciful when powerful'); *HONOS honestum decorat, inhonestum notat* ('HONOS distinguishes the honourable and reprimands the dishonourable'); *rivalitatem non amat VICTORIA* ('VICTORIA does not love rivalry'); *non turpis est cicatrix quam VIRTUS parit* ('the scar that

⁵⁰ Macrobius, *Sat.* 2.7.4–5 (see also the prologue at 2.7.3). Edwards (1993), 133–4 has an acute discussion of this passage.

⁵¹ Cic. *Att.* 14.2.1–2 (8 April 44); 3.2.

⁵² Skutsch, *RE* 23.2 (1959), 1920–8.

VIRTUS produces is not unseemly'); *ibi semper est VICTORIA, ubi CONCORDIA est* ('wherever CONCORDIA is, there is VICTORIA'); *plures amicos mensa quam MENS concipit* ('one's table [*mensa*] receives more friends than does MENS'); *suspiciosus omnium damnat FIDEM* ('the suspicious man condemns everyone's FIDES'); *perpetuo vincit qui utitur CLEMENTIA* ('he always wins who enjoys CLEMENTIA'); *ubicumque pudor est, semper ibi sancta est FIDES* ('wherever modesty is, there FIDES is always revered'); *ubi LIBERTAS cecidit, audet libere nemo loqui* ('where LIBERTAS has fallen, no one dares to speak freely'); *levis est FORTUNA: cito reposcit quod dedit* ('FORTUNA is capricious: she soon demands what she has given'); *nulla tam bona est FORTUNA, de qua nil possis queri* ('no FORTUNA is so good that no complaint may be made about her/it'); *VIRTUTIS vultus partem habet VICTORIAE* ('VIRTUS' appearance has a share of VICTORIA'). The potential resonance of lines like these must be considered in the context of the topography of the city of Rome in this period, and particularly, perhaps, in terms of the most recent building projects.⁵³

One performance space built during the years under consideration here, the importance of which should be considered in terms of heightened public responses to drama and dramatic lines in Rome in the late 60s and early 50s, is the *theatrum Pompei*.⁵⁴ Another example of a crowd reaction, recounted to Atticus in 59, after the formation of the 'group of three', should be considered in connection with it. Pompey was absent from Rome and Caesar present during the *ludi Apollinares*. Caesar was given a cold reception by the audience, while Pompey was 'attacked' in his absence by the tragedian Diphilus.

⁵³ Meyer (1880), N36, P26, H24, R7, N12, I59, P52, S45, P51, V9, V25, L4, N8, V18. Other examples involving divine qualities in lines generally agreed to be Publilian are D9, L7, F16, S14, E30, E15, F1, F14, F17, M12, B5, I62, S2, V8, N47, S39, S30, F24, E7, F2, F6, F8, F18, F26, M44, P47, Q50, S29, F3, H16, N35, H14, M7, M58, L8, R3, S6, B21, D14, I36, A43, N26, S48, P37, V17, V19, V12, V24, V29, Q38, P5, V27, M49.

⁵⁴ Frézouls (1981), esp. 207–10 suggests that the phenomenon of recorded reactions to theatrical lines may be connected to the abolition of those *collegia* held to be *adversus rem publicam* ('against the *res publica*') by the *senatus consulta* in 64 and in 56 (after the reinstatement in 58). Rawson (1991), 470 n. 7 rightly points out both that Cic. *Sest.* 106 implies a long-established custom and that demonstrations in the theatre are attested before this date (although these are mentioned by later authors, Plutarch and Pliny the Elder). It might then be more prudent to think of an *increase* in such demonstrations, rather than their beginning, as Frézouls himself indeed suggests at one point (200).

The line 'through our misery are you great' (*nostra miseria tu es magnus*), which the audience allegedly forced Diphilus to repeat 'a thousand times' (*miliens*) is often commented upon. According to Cicero the following line, too, provoked the applause 'of the whole audience' (*totius theatri*): 'the time will come when you will bewail that same VIRTUS' (*eandem VIRTUTEM istam veniet tempus cum graviter gemes*).⁵⁵

It is in part against a background of incidents of this kind, as Frézouls has suggested, that Pompey's decision to build a theatre should be seen. The physical appearance of the space that Pompey created, too, should be considered in terms of this and other such occasions. The incidents at the *ludi Apollinares* of course preceded the inauguration(s) of the *theatrum Pompei*. Their perceived significance may be seen in Cicero's comment that Pompey was said to have been informed of them immediately in a letter.⁵⁶ Frézouls sees Pompey's very decision to build a *theatre* as potentially connected to negative reactions by crowds after his return from the East, with Pompey seeing a chance to win their favour by being the first man in Rome to provide a permanent theatre and hence to guarantee the freedom of speech attached to local *ludi*, which was being interfered with by the *senatus consultum* on *collegia* and their associated festivals.⁵⁷ Such 'freedom' of speech, as he remarks, provided by Pompey's theatre was nothing but 'a sop' ('une liberté de substitution').⁵⁸ Moreover, if a line such as that recited by Diphilus had been used again in the *theatrum Pompei*, VIRTUS, a divine quality often vaunted as Pompey's by Cicero, and which as a future cause of lamentation had provoked such applause in 59, would have been present, in a shrine, behind the spectators, 'watching' the performance.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Cic. *Att.* 2.19.3 and Val. Max. 6.2.9. McDonnell (1990), 424 notes that the audience would have recognized VIRTUS as well as *magnus* as a reference to Pompey.

⁵⁶ Cic. *Att.* 2.19.3. Cameron (1976), 158–60 rightly argues that the importance attached by Cicero to such demonstrations was less 'exaggerated' than e.g. Shackleton-Bailey believes, and was shared by others. This passage should be added to the examples he adduces (*Fam.* 8.2.1, *Att.* 14.2.1; *Pis.* 65).

⁵⁷ Frézouls (1981), and n. 54 above.

⁵⁸ *ibid.* 204.

⁵⁹ On Cicero on Pompey's VIRTUS, mentioned from as early as 66, see n. 133 below, and cf. Cic. *Q. Fr.* 1.1.42 (and 1.1.31), in which Cicero describes Asia to his brother in 59 as a theatre for the display of Quintus' virtues.

'COMPLEX' CONTEXTS

A cluster of divine qualities, including *VIRTUS*, was established in shrines in Pompey's theatre in the Campus Martius. Emphasis in ancient texts on the temple element of Pompey's temple-theatre complex is justified: Pompey's oft-cited declaration that the *cavea* seats formed the steps to the temple of Venus Victrix is too often taken to have been a mere cover, disguising the introduction of the first permanent, stone theatre in the city of Rome.⁶⁰ Analysis in terms of distinct categories such as 'religion' and 'entertainment' is of course inappropriate. The shrines appear all to have been situated at the top of the seating. Suetonius preserves an account, in his life of Claudius, of the Emperor sacrificing at games for the restoration of the theatre after fire 'in the temples above' (*apud superiores aedes*), and then descending 'through the middle of the seating' (*per... mediam caveam*). The *fasti Amiternini* for 12 August refer more precisely to festivals '*Veneri Victrici, HON(ORI), VIRTVT(I), FELICITATI in theatro marmoreo*' ('to Venus Victrix, HONOS, VIRTUS, and FELICITAS in the marble theatre'). The *fasti Allifani*, however, give '*V V H V V FELICITA*', which is plausibly reconstructed as '*V(eneri) V(ictrici) H(ONORI) V(IRTUTI) V[?] FELICITA(TI in theatro Pompei)*'.⁶¹ The presence of the fourth 'v', together with the absence of extant archaeological remains for the upper levels of the theatre, has made the precise layout and grouping of the shrines atop the *theatrum Pompei*, and the deities honoured therein, a source of some speculation.

One obvious possibility is that the fourth 'v' in the *Allifani* entry is simply a dittographic error,⁶² in which case the favoured layout is of an axial shrine to Venus Victrix with a smaller shrine on either side: one to HONOS and VIRTUS, one to FELICITAS.⁶³ Restitutions as *V(ICTORIA)*, *V(ESTA)*, *V(ALETUDO)*, or *V(ALENTIA)* have also been proposed, with

⁶⁰ Tert. *De spect.* 10.5, with the argument of Hanson (1959b), ch. 3, esp. 44–55.

⁶¹ Suet. *Claud.* 21.1; *CIL* I² p. 244 and 217.

⁶² *pace* Coarelli (1997), 568 n. 129 who claims, erroneously, that the same formula appears on the *fasti Arvalium*.

⁶³ Thus Sauron (1994), 252 n. 19—on which further below—following Schilling (1954), 298 n. 4 for the calendrical interpretation. Sauron (1987), 472 and Schilling (1954) both consider the possibility that *FELICITAS* may have shared a shrine with another deity.

VICTORIA finding greatest favour,⁶⁴ but the potential physical arrangement of the shrines in such cases is not always addressed. Hanson, seeking comparable examples, suggested that what he sees as the *four* 'subsidiary shrines' might have been placed symmetrically around the central aisle, and have themselves been located on the line of other aisles. This hypothesis is based on a parallel with the early imperial theatre at Herculaneum, which itself appears to have had three, equally sized shrines.⁶⁵ Weinstock believes that VICTORIA and FELICITAS, like HONOS and VIRTUS, might have shared a shrine.⁶⁶

Cicero's freedman Tiro mentioned the dedication of an *aedes VICTORIAE* in the context of Pompey's third consulship (in 52) in terms that make an error in date very unlikely.⁶⁷ This allusion has been thought by a number of scholars to refer to a temple of VICTORIA separate from that of Venus Victrix, with which it is more usually identified, and as providing the explanation of the fourth 'v' in the *Allifani* entry,⁶⁸ so that the shrine of VICTORIA (and, if FELICITAS and VICTORIA did share a *sacellum*, perhaps that of FELICITAS too⁶⁹) might have been dedicated in 52. Although describing a temple of Venus Victrix as a temple of VICTORIA does not pose insuperable difficulties,⁷⁰ the particular focus of the passage

⁶⁴ e.g. Richardson (1987), 123 n. 5 (allowing for the possibility of calendrical error); Weinstock (1971), 93 (VICTORIA); Hanson (1959b), 52 n. 51 (making a case for VALETUDO).

⁶⁵ Hanson (1959b), 53 and 74–5 on the Herculaneum theatre, following Rugiero's study (*Storia degli scavi di Ercolano*, p. xxv) based on tunnelled excavation in the eighteenth century; Richardson (1987), 123 suggests a similar arrangement.

⁶⁶ Weinstock (1971), 232 and esp. 91 n. 7 and 93, a hypothesis based in part upon evidence for a shared cult of VICTORIA and FELICITAS CAESARIS at Ameria (*ILS* 6631–2).

⁶⁷ In Gell. NA 10.1.7, based on a letter from Tiro: 'when Pompey... was about to dedicate the temple of VICTORIA... the question arose as to whether "consul tertio" or "tertium" should be inscribed' (*cum Pompeius... aedem VICTORIAE dedicaturus foret... quaeri coeptum est, utrum 'consul tertio' inscribendum esset an 'tertium'*).

⁶⁸ Baudrillart (1894), 83; Hölscher (1967), 148 n. 922. Coarelli (1997), 568–9 raises the possibility that the shrine to VICTORIA may have been on the stage and dedicated in 52 with the stage building.

⁶⁹ So Weinstock (1971), 93. Ulrich (1993), 51 and n. 17 gives a convenient summary of the various dates proposed for the dedication of Pompey's theatre and its shrines, to which Coarelli (1997), 568–9 should now be added.

⁷⁰ It is nonetheless worth noting that the willingness to accept this explanation of a separate shrine to VICTORIA is largely confined to those whose focus is VICTORIA herself (Baudrillart, Hölscher) or the cult precedents of Augustus (Weinstock).

in Gellius upon the best way of abbreviating the *third* consulship does seem to make an argument of mistaken dating less likely. If the theatre and shrine of Venus Victrix were indeed dedicated in 55, Tiro must have referred to a separate shrine of VICTORIA, not to that of Venus Victrix, in which case VICTORIA is indeed the most convenient candidate to complete the *Allifani* 'v'.

Richardson claims that '[w]hether all five temples were part of the original concept does not greatly matter'. It is hard to believe that they were added after Pompey's time.⁷¹ A delay in *dedication* until Pompey's third consulship, if such a delay occurred only because the shrine or shrines of VICTORIA or of VICTORIA and FELICITAS were not complete in 55, for example, might not be of great import. The layout, number, and identity of the shrines is, on the other hand, very important. This importance is highlighted particularly effectively in Sauron's reading of the complex, which rightly considers Pompey's buildings on the Campus Martius as a whole.⁷²

Sauron's ingenious and largely convincing reading, which sees the whole complex as designed by someone (probably Varro himself) fully cognizant of the tripartite theology outlined by that famous antiquarian, proposes that the epithet 'Victrix' given to Venus was not a new coinage by Pompey, but that it rather, on one level at least, pertained to the well-known myth in which Venus/Aphrodite *had* 'won', namely the judgement of Paris.⁷³ Sauron proposes links, for the observer walking in the *ambulatio*, between the three groups of statues identified by Coarelli as standing in the *porticus* (courtesans, poetesses, and women of exceptional fertility) and Venus, Minerva, and Iuno respectively. Presenting the three cult locations at the top of the theatre as a divine triad,⁷⁴ he argues that, although HONOS and VIRTUS, and FELICITAS, were found where Minerva and Iuno would then be expected:

⁷¹ Richardson (1987), 123. Gleason (1989), 190 emphasizes that all the evidence for these shrines, Suetonian and calendrical, is imperial.

⁷² Sauron (1987) for an initial sketch of the ideas, developed further, particularly in its philosophical aspects, in Sauron (1994), ch. 4 on Venus Victrix.

⁷³ Theology: August. *De civ. D.* 6. 5; Paris: e.g. Hom. *Il.* 24.27–30.

⁷⁴ For further parallels between *theatrum Pompei* and Capitoline in this respect, see p. 234 below.

...these very abstract deities expressed certain aspects of the Olympian deities for whom they stood in: *Honos* and *Virtus* were abstractions symbolising a general's qualities and his success, but the *uirtutes* were also the talents of any individual, for example an orator's skills...and the term could well apply to a woman's poetic talents. And *Felicitas* was probably first a general's luck, and this was a constant theme in Pompey's propaganda..., but *felicitas* was also women's fertility, and that of female animals...; and it is this narrowly physiological aspect of *felicitas* that was illustrated by the women in our third category in the *ambulatio*... We might add that *Virtus* was not only an abstract divinity expressing an isolated aspect of Minerva's complex personality... but was also represented at Rome very like Minerva, although without the aegis and *gorgoneion*.⁷⁵

Sauron's points are strengthened if one collapses the distinction between deity and quality in his analysis. What is admirable in his account is the emphasis upon the position of the viewer. He distinguishes the meanings available to be drawn upon by those seeing the shrines from the *ambulatio* and those in the theatre, with the *frons scaenae* serving as a kind of barrier between the different interpretations. The visibility of the side shrines from the *porticus* is not easy to establish, as their location is uncertain, but Gleason makes a convincing case that, until Augustus built a permanent *scaena*, and broke the visual connection between the theatre and the *porticus*, this was in fact an integrated complex with the long, central avenue, flanked by plane trees, focusing through an arch on the theatre and the shrine of Venus Victrix beyond. Sauron's reading rests, of course, on the assumption that the shrines atop the theatre were three in number, thereby disguising in some sense the presence of four or five divinities. The multivalence of *FELICITAS* is nonetheless particularly convincing, however, and we might note that *VICTORIA*, too, was associated with the judgement of Paris on Praenestine mirrors.⁷⁶ Following Sauron's analysis, in the shrines to *FELICITAS* and *VIRTUS*, at least, we can see further examples of the multiple meanings of the

⁷⁵ Sauron (1994), 287. Note, too, that both *VIRTUS* and *HONOS* are used to evaluate a woman (the daughter of Metellus Balearicus) by Cicero at *Rosc. Am.* 147.

⁷⁶ Visibility: Gleason (1994), 22–3, figs. 9 and 10. Sauron (1994), esp. 288: a separate shrine to *HONOS* might pose more problems for his interpretation. *VICTORIA*: Schilling (1954), 168–73 discusses representations of the scene on Etruscan mirrors, with the favoured goddess having close links to *VICTORIA*. Ch. 5 n. 117 for *CIL* I² 557 = Vetter (1953), no. 366k.

'lexical base' of divine qualities being drawn upon, simultaneously, in the observation of their shrines. In this case, however, rather than finding examples in which various available interpretations are drawn upon by different groups or individuals in particular historical circumstances, or in fictional representations of these, we see that the 'polyvalence' of the divinities seems to be exploited for different audiences in the very design of the complex. Other meanings and referents naturally remained available to different viewers, but more effort was required to evoke them.

FELICITAS received a fourth place of worship in the centre of Rome during Caesar's dictatorship, in a temple that stood for a length of time now uncertain and which is in consequence too often briefly dismissed. Evidence of its existence is usually considered only in terms of the possible chronology of Caesar's projects in the Forum Romanum and Forum Iulium, but its significance surpasses its contribution to this chronological question. Dio claims that M. Aemilius Lepidus 'completed' (ἐξέποιήσεν) the shrine when he was Caesar's *magister equitum* (master of the horse, a position he held from 46 to 44) and that it was built on a site deliberately chosen in order to eliminate Sulla's name entirely from the Comitium area—that of the demolished *curia Hostilia*.⁷⁷ Various dates have been posited for (the completion of) the building, from 46 to 44.⁷⁸ Weigel suggests that the temple was probably finished in late 45 or early 44, partly on the basis of the postscript of a Ciceronian letter of December of 45. Cicero says he has been summoned by Lepidus and assumes that augurs are wanted to consecrate a *templum*. Weigel plausibly associates this *templum*, if it does indeed refer to a building, with the only temple known (to us) to have been built around this time, namely that of FELICITAS.⁷⁹ Receiving no further mention in the literary sources, the temple

⁷⁷ Dio Cass. 44.5.2.

⁷⁸ 46: Ulrich (1993), 72 and n. 120, following Morselli and Tortorici (1989), 42, who read the year of completion as the year in which Lepidus obtained the post from Caesar. Ulrich claims that this dating follows Coarelli (1985), 236, but Coarelli actually claims that the temple's *inauguration* took place in 44. 44: Platner and Ashby (1929), 207 and Richardson (1992), 150 claim that the temple was planned by Caesar just before his assassination and then built by Lepidus.

⁷⁹ Weigel (1992), 35; Cic. Att. 13.42: *ecce tibi orat Lepidus ut veniam. opinor, augures velle habere ad templum effandum*. His argument is convincing if the *templum* referred to is a building, but *effari* is technically used of the proclamation by the

is generally assumed to have had a short life, disappearing within a year or two of completion, when work was begun on the *curia Iulia* or when the senate decreed the reconstruction of the *curia Hostilia* in 43.⁸⁰ Tortorici and Morselli, following Dio, suggest that the shrine constituted 'a trick' ('un artificio'), that is a sacred building giving Lepidus the necessary pretext for destroying the *curia Hostilia*.⁸¹ Burned in 52 during the riots occasioned by Clodius' funeral, the *curia Hostilia* was later restored by Faustus Sulla, the dictator's son, on the orders of the senate. It is unlikely that moving the Curia could have been envisaged before the burning in 52.⁸² Tortorici, who persists in seeing Caesar's plan, including the *curia Iulia*, as fully formed from the start, further suggests that Caesar, *pontifex maximus* since 63, realized that a senatorial veto on the destruction of a sacred building would create great procedural difficulties, and hence decided to build the shrine to *FELICITAS* so that he was then able to build the new Curia in alignment with his Forum. While this might conceivably explain the choice of a shrine, it says nothing about the particular choice of *FELICITAS*. Assessment in terms of tricks and pretexts, moreover, parallels rather too closely the assumptions often made, on the basis of Tertullian's comments in *de Spectaculis*, about Pompey building the temple to Venus Victrix simply in order to be able to construct his theatre.⁸³ Both cases should provoke similar reservations. Caesar could of course have seen the advantage of building a temple to prevent the Sullan Curia being rebuilt on that spot, but it is worth also considering the positive implications of his decision to build a temple to *FELICITAS*. Any suggestion that the demolition of the shrine was planned as it was built may surely be disregarded. Caesar may have been willing to consider *moving* an existing shrine such as that to *PIETAS* in order to carry out his plans for his own theatre, but it is

augurs of a piece of ground as a consecrated area from which auspices could be taken (Varro *Ling.* 6.53).

⁸⁰ *curia Iulia*: work on this was probably begun after Caesar's assassination, as Ulrich (1993), 72 points out, using Dio Cass. 47.19 and esp. Augustus RG 19, who claims *feci* ('I made'), not *perfec*i ('I completed [the curia]'). *curia Hostilia*: Dio Cass. 45.17.8, with Coarelli (1985), 236 and (1983*b*), 135 and n. 55.

⁸¹ Morselli and Tortorici (1989), 42; Tortorici (1991), 58, 105.

⁸² Dio 40.49.2, 40.50.2–3; Ulrich (1993), 71, *contra* Tortorici (1991), 105.

⁸³ Tert. *De spect.* 10.5 (n. 60 above).

harder to believe that he would have chosen to destroy a recent shrine to FELICITAS, built in some sense as part of his Forum project(s).⁸⁴

The building must rather be considered in light of current thinking about the evolution of Caesar's plans for the Forum Romanum and Forum Iulium, which rightly emphasizes the continually evolving nature of Caesar's plans for the whole area.⁸⁵ Ulrich argues convincingly that the Forum Iulium was not conceived as a whole until after Pharsalus.⁸⁶ Where might the temple of FELICITAS fit into these evolving plans? Probably completed by 45 (44 at the latest), all that is reasonably securely known about it is that it stood on at least part of the ground covered by the *curia Hostilia*, and that its completion was supervised in some sense by Lepidus, who perhaps also dedicated it. We may also assume that it was at least *initially* intended to form a permanent part of the 'complex' then being created in the Forum Romanum/Forum Iulium. If so, if it *was* soon destroyed, there must have been another change of plan once building work had begun on the *curia Iulia* (when Caesar was dead), so that plans for the new Curia post-dated those for the temple.⁸⁷

It is also conceivable that the temple was not destroyed at all in these years. That it is never mentioned in surviving literary sources with reference to any later period argues against such an idea, but circumstantial archaeological evidence points to a different possibility. A section of white mosaic pavement, found in the 1930s under the southern corner of SS Martina e Luca with an Ionic capital lying upon it, has been attributed to the Sullan Curia,⁸⁸ and Tortorici has suggested

⁸⁴ Temples, including that of PIETAS, were destroyed (or marked down for destruction in Caesar's time) to create space for Caesar's theatre project (Dio Cass. 43.49.3; Plin. HN 7.121).

⁸⁵ Esp. Purcell (1993) and Ulrich (1993).

⁸⁶ Ulrich (1993), esp. 70–1 with n. 114. Coarelli's identification of the apparent north-south orientation of a rear wall of one of the *tabernae* of the Forum Iulium as suggesting respect for the orientation of the *curia Hostilia* in the building work is attractive, but not unquestionable, because the wall in question is substructural (see Amici (1991), 26).

⁸⁷ Caesar was only given the task of rebuilding the Curia in 44 according to Dio Cass. (44.5.1), although Ulrich (1993), 72 is right to point out that it is impossible to tell whether this was merely a ratification of a project already under way.

⁸⁸ BCAR 61 (1933), 261 reports the find of paving and capital beneath the right wall of the entrance of the church, towards via Bonella; Coarelli (1983b), 156 attributes the mosaic paving to the Sullan Curia.

that the capital and a tufa wall in *opus quadratum*, which cuts the paving and is aligned with the Forum Iulium and the *curia Iulia*, may be the only remains so far known of the temple.⁸⁹ Whether or not this particular interpretation of the almost entirely unpublished archaeological evidence can be sustained, it is certainly worth considering the position and orientation of the temple as an integral part of Caesar's plans. By the time it was built, Caesar may reasonably be assumed to have been competing with Pompey's complex on the Campus Martius. Before thinking further about the setting of the temple to FELICITAS, it will be important to consider this complex more fully.

The *aedes*, *theatrum*, *porticus*, *ambulatio*, and *curia* of Pompey's complex usually receive most attention, since—whatever the difficulties created by scarcity of archaeological evidence—these are better understood and more accessible to interpretative readings than are the *horti Pompeiani*. The location of Pompey's house and *horti* is also very significant, however, when considered together with other late Republican *horti*. Despite a number of references in the literary sources to Pompey's properties in the city of Rome,⁹⁰ the precise situation of these *horti* is a formidable problem, which has given rise to various differing theories. The most convincing locates the *horti* described as *superiores* ('upper') by Asconius on the western Pincio, north of the gardens of Lucullus, and the (implied) *inferiores* in the Campus Martius near Pompey's theatre, although Jolivet has recently proposed locating both *superiores* and *inferiores* in the Campus Martius.⁹¹ The key text for both these interpretations is the simile used by Plutarch to describe the *domus* in relation to the theatre, and probably suggested by the proximity of the buildings to the Tiber: like a small launch being towed by a larger vessel (ὡσπερ ἐφόλκιόν).⁹² Where Jolivet envisages Pompey's *horti*, and the house that he had built in

⁸⁹ Tortorici (1991), 56–61.

⁹⁰ e.g. Plut. *Pomp.* 44.4, 48.8; *Cat. Min.* 48.1; Asc. *Mil.* 33 and 50 Clark; Cic. *Mil.* 65; *Phil.* 2.64–7, 109; Vell. *Pat.* 2.60 and 77; App. *B Civ.* 3.14; Flor. 2.18.4.

⁹¹ Asc. *Mil.* 50 Clark. Most convincing: Coarelli (1997), 544–59 and fig. 137. Coarelli (1997) and Jolivet (1996) both address earlier theories and their exponents. Campus Martius: Jolivet (1983), but his insistence on Monte Giordano being a partially natural mound (125) is both impossible to prove because impossible to excavate and intrinsically less plausible than Coarelli's suggestion (1997: 546) that it is late antique.

⁹² Plut. *Pomp.* 40.

them sometime between his third triumph in 61 and the completion of the theatre in 55, lying somewhere north-west of the theatre itself, on the slopes of and below Monte Giordano, Coarelli more convincingly posits a much smaller potential distance between theatre and *domus*. He suggests that Pompey's house lay north of the theatre, in the area where the Odeum of Domitian was later built.⁹³

The presence of the *domus* surrounded by *horti*, at an unknown distance south, north, or particularly west of the theatre, would have made a very deliberate connection between Pompey's *domus*, in these *horti*, and the shrines located in the theatre. Insufficient attention has been paid to this connection.⁹⁴ Jolivet goes so far as to hypothesize a monumental walkway, perhaps with a portico, between theatre and house, and Richardson, attempting to prove that the markings on the Marble Plan usually taken to represent the temple to Venus Victrix may in fact depict a tree-lined avenue, similarly suggests that this avenue led to Pompey's new house. Although the idea that such an avenue might have survived unbuilt upon in this area of the city for the two and a half centuries before the Marble Plan was drawn is highly implausible,⁹⁵ the existence of an avenue or walkway of this kind is not precluded by lack of surviving evidence in this densely built area. In the image used by Plutarch, such an avenue might have constituted a kind of 'tow-rope', and if Coarelli has correctly located the *domus* north of the theatre, the launch would have been 'pulled' parallel to the course of the Tiber. Wherever the precise location of the *domus*, the visual image used by Plutarch clearly indicates the way in which the theatre, with its shrines of unknown form, must have towered above Pompey's reputedly modest house. This arrangement allowed Pompey to be seen to dwell in view of Venus Victrix and of carefully chosen divine qualities. Since the *domus* surely formed part of the complex as a whole, this is another important perspective.

⁹³ Jolivet (1983), esp. 124–30; Coarelli (1997), esp. 555.

⁹⁴ North: Coarelli (1997), 544–59; west: Sauron (1994), 250. The best treatments of the connection are Coarelli (1983a), esp. 200, in an excellent article based on Coarelli (1977), 816 and n. 19, which, however, focuses exclusively upon the link with Venus Victrix, and, more recently, Coarelli (1997), esp. 567–70.

⁹⁵ Walkway: Jolivet (1983), 125; Richardson (1987), with the justified criticisms of Sauron (1994), 250–1. Richardson's hypothesis about the size of the temple of Venus Victrix is also unconvincing. For a review of the Marble Plan see Castagnoli (1961).

Gros has drawn attention to the parallels between the sacrifices recorded in the *fasti Amiternini* for 9 October 'to Genius Publicus, Fausta FELICITAS, and Venus Victrix on the Capitol' (*Genio Publico, Faustae FELICITATI, Veneri Victrici in Capitolio*) and on 12 August 'to Venus Victrix, HONOS, VIRTUS, and FELICITAS in the marble theatre' (*Veneri Victrici, HONORI, VIRTUTI, FELICITATI in theatro marmoreo*), and so to the resemblance between Pompey's theatre and the Capitoline hill. The resemblance lies not only in the similarity of some of the deities, but also in the use of *in* rather than *apud* or *ad*. He sees this as indicating the conception of Pompey's theatre as 'a sort of hill in itself', ascended by ritual processional route (as used by Claudius, for example) up the *cavea* steps, just as the Capitol was ascended by the *centum gradus*. He describes the Pompeian complex as 'a kind of city in the City', with all the necessary elements for the functioning of power (meeting places, senate, temples).⁹⁶ Purcell once stressed the way in which many of the other *villae urbanae* of the late Republic, set in huge *horti*, resembled towns, including, in the larger complexes, 'temples which retained a semipublic role'.⁹⁷ Pursuing this idea further, and bearing in mind the appearance of the Pompeian complex, created *de novo*, it seems likely that the identity of the temple could have been *one* motivating factor in choice of site. Such a choice, after all, is of more than passing import when one is building a 'town', and temples located in or near other *horti* often pre-date the creation of these *horti*, whereas other 'urban' features were deliberately constructed for the area. There are hints that temples to FORTUNA may have featured in *horti* of other 'great men' of the late Republic.⁹⁸

It was into his *horti trans Tiberim* that Caesar invited the people for feasting after his Spanish triumph in 45, and he famously

⁹⁶ Gros (1987), 325–6.

⁹⁷ Purcell (1987a), 197 with, as examples, FORTUNA SEIANI, the TRES FORTUNAE on the Quirinal, and Venus Erycina; but see further Purcell (1996a), 132, confining to country villas the resemblance to 'little cities'. The vital (and seemingly irresolvable) question, when considering the possibility that private *horti* could include public temples (see further n. 107 below), is that of access. Aspects of access to *horti* (and access to Rome through *horti*) are addressed by D'Arms (1998) and Purcell (2001b), 553.

⁹⁸ Häuber (1998) discusses the location of other temples in *horti*, including Sejanus' appropriation of FORTUNA VIRGO.

bequeathed the same gardens to the people in his will.⁹⁹ D'Arms's investigation of the importance of the *epulum publicum* in Caesar's entertainments, and of his attempts to bind the *plebs urbana* closer to him in the 40s, clearly brings out the significance of the (private) gardens as a setting for at least one of the banquets. Such an act—not the first example of publicly linked uses of such spaces—demonstrated how private Roman *horti* could bring benefit to the *plebs Romana*.¹⁰⁰ Why had Caesar acquired this particular land in the first place? Tiberius dedicated a temple to FORS FORTUNA in these *horti* by AD 16, most likely a restoration and rededication of an archaic temple.¹⁰¹ The temples of FORS FORTUNA of the first and sixth milestones in Trastevere were associated, at least in part, with lower strata of society. One attractive suggestion is that the *descensio* described by Ovid was designed to link these two temples.¹⁰² This raises the interesting question of how far the decision to acquire the land was affected by forward-planning on Caesar's part. While the *horti* were in his possession (for we must remember that he had only planned to relinquish them after his death), they appear to have been

⁹⁹ Val. Max. 9.15.1. Suet. *Iul.* 83.2; Cic. *Phil.* 2.109.

¹⁰⁰ D'Arms (1998), 42. Plut. *Pomp.* 44.3 describes Pompey distributing money in his gardens in 61 as bribes to secure Afranius' electoral victory.

¹⁰¹ Tac. *Ann.* 2.41.1 for the dedication. The precise number and dedicators of temples to FORS FORTUNA on the right bank of the Tiber are difficult to establish. Tacitus' language, as Platner and Ashby (1929), 214 rightly note, does not support the idea of a rededication, but since the *fasti Esquilini* show (24 June) that there were already two temples to FORS FORTUNA by 16 BC, one at the first and one at the sixth milestone of the *via Portuensis*, and, since the *Amiternini* also only mention two, a rededication is the most likely explanation. Carvilius' temple is most reasonably identified with that at the sixth milestone (*CIL* I² 977 = *ILLRP* 96, a late Republican dedication to FORS FORTUNA by *magistri* and *ministri* who include Carvilius), and Savage (1940), 31–5 identifies that at the first with the temple attributed to Servius Tullius (Varro *Ling.* 6.17 and Dion. Hal. 4.27) or Ancus Marcius (Plut. *De fort. Rom.* 5), although this explanation appears not to account for Livy's description of the temple whose contract was let *de manubiis* by Sp. Carvilius in 293 as 'near the temple of that goddess dedicated by Servius Tullius' (*prope aedem eius deae ab rege Servio Tullio dedicatam*, 10.46.14). Syme (1956), 264 claims Livy 'may be in error', Savage (1940), 32 that *prope* should be interpreted 'freely'. In any event, the calendrical evidence shows that there was a temple at the first milestone before Tiberius' (re)dedication, and therefore most probably at the time when Caesar was constituting his *horti*.

¹⁰² Ov. *Fast.* 6.773–84, with Ch. 5 n. 3 and Coarelli (1992), 53; Donatus on Ter. *Phorm.* 841.

associated with the temple of a deity linked with the plebs, and one referred to by Cicero in *de Legibus* at the end of a list of divine qualities.¹⁰³ Caesar chose for these *horti*, then, an area suitable for later donation to the people, which they could access without difficulty, whether for a specific occasion such as his feast or as an area of their own. During his ownership, he also appropriated, in (sight of) his land, a deity who might by that point be conceived of, at least in some circles, as a FORTUNA assimilable to that of Caesar himself.¹⁰⁴ Different readings of (FORS) FORTUNA could thus have been available to different viewers, and, through Caesar's ownership of the gardens, the divine quality could have served as a summarizing symbol for a wider range of associations than before, as well as helping to highlight the connection between Caesar and FORTUNA.

The evidence for other *horti* originally belonging to Julius Caesar, on the Quirinal, is more tenuous, but still merits consideration.¹⁰⁵ If Dio's evidence of the thunderbolts that struck the gardens of Julius Caesar and the temple of FORTUNA PUBLICA may imply the geographical proximity of the two,¹⁰⁶ then it seems very likely that all three temples of FORTUNA (PUBLICA POPULI ROMANI QUIRITUM, PRIMIGENIA, and PUBLICA CITERIOR) must have been located in or near these gardens.¹⁰⁷ While an urban parallel is more neatly drawn if the temples lay physically inside the gardens, the important point is the proximity of the structures to, and especially their visibility from, the *horti* and residences in those *horti*. This was surely very deliberate. Extra-pomerial temples of course existed in Rome,

¹⁰³ Cic. *Leg.* 2.28: 'FORS in cases where uncertain events are rather meant' (FORS, *in quo incerti casus significantur magis*).

¹⁰⁴ FORTUNA CAESARIS: see n. 129 below and Weinstock (1971), 112–27, and note that Plut. *De fort. Rom.* 5 says that the temple was built in the *horti* that Caesar bequeathed to the people because they believed he had reached his exalted position *ἐντυχία*.

¹⁰⁵ Dio Cass. 42.26.3, with Purcell (2001*b*), 555 n. 40 noting that this may well refer to three separate places, not two (although one equally cannot rule out the idea that the latter two *were* close together).

¹⁰⁶ A view supported by e.g. Talamo (1998), 115.

¹⁰⁷ A temple, once consecrated, was held to be *divini iuris* and so cannot legally have formed part of private *horti* (cf. Gai. *Inst.* 2.4–5, Justinian *Inst.* 2.1.8, *Dig.* 1.8.6.3, and Buckland (1966), 183). Whether this precludes a temple physically lying within the bounds of such *horti* is less clear. Talamo (1998), 135 and Grimal (quoted in Colin (1946), 143 n. 4) believe it does.

providing a useful parallel for temples lying on the outskirts of properties. Talamo, who believes in *horti Caesaris* in this location, notes the 'very significant ideological value... conferred by the presence in the area of one of the temples of the three *Fortunae*' and links this closely with Caesar's residence in the gardens. If the *horti Caesaris* there were indeed Caesar's, the 'ideological value' was of course further buttressed in this instance, as Talamo notes, by the vicinity of a Venus (Caesar's ancestress) outside the *porta Collina*. If she has correctly located Caesar's residence in the later *horti Sallustiani* on the site of the later Hadrianic palace, and if one of the three temples of FORTUNA in that area may be identified with the remains discovered on the *via Flavia*, then the two did lie in close proximity.¹⁰⁸ These temples, two of which bore the name FORTUNA PUBLICA, illustrate by their very epithet a communal identity ascribed to the divine quality. Under Caesar, the largest of the three, that of FORTUNA PUBLICA POPULI ROMANI QUIRITUM, may have become associated with a private domain. If so, it seems probable that this was much more than a mere side-effect of the spread of the late Republican *horti*.

Of equal interest are the *horti Luculliani* on the Pincio. Laid out by L. Licinius Lucullus, probably sometime between 66 and 63, these gardens included a temple. The 'complex' formed by this building and a curvilinear structure about 200 m long, which was still partially visible in the Renaissance, led Ligorio to identify the temple as a temple of FORTUNA, echoing that of FORTUNA PRIMIGENIA in Praeneste in whose partial rebuilding Lucullus, or at least his brother, was involved.¹⁰⁹ Excavations from the 1980s by a French team have, however, dated the curvilinear structure to the first half of the first century AD. Lucullus' villa did not, then, as was once thought, model itself on the Palestrina complex. The structure, consisting of a series of terraces crowned by a curvilinear *porticus* now identified as an *ambulatio*, was probably part of the improvements attributed by Tacitus to Valerius Asiaticus' ownership of the *horti*.¹¹⁰ It is probably

¹⁰⁸ Talamo (1998), 114, 135. She errs in her identification of the temple's founder, and also, in my view, in the name given to the deity; see Ziolkowski (1992), 40–5 and Coarelli (1995).

¹⁰⁹ Ligorio: Broise and Jolivet (1991); Lucullus and Praeneste: Fasolo and Gullini (1953), 271–2.

¹¹⁰ Tac. *Ann.* 11.1; Dio Cass. 60.31.5.

now to be identified with the *nymphaeum Iovis* of the regionary catalogues, and it lay on an axis joining the temple to the east, on what was then one summit of the hill, to the Mausoleum of Augustus to the west. Excavations in 1997 uncovered part of the *cella* from the phase of the temple dating to the third or fourth century AD, at which point it was a circular structure some 22 m in diameter. Just outside this *rotunda*, evidence came to light of two earlier building phases, perhaps belonging to earlier incarnations of the temple. One was contemporary with the Julio-Claudian *nymphaeum*; the other, in grey tufa in *opus quadratum*, has been dated to the third to second century BC.¹¹¹ The temple may still, if it can be identified at all, possibly be considered that of a FORTUNA. A dedication to FORTUNAE BONAE SALUTARI was found in the gardens of Trinità dei Monti, and it is possible that it was other, similar inscriptions, no longer surviving, together with the form of the buildings, which led Ligorio to make the identification with FORTUNA PRIMIGENIA at Praeneste in the first place (although the two inscriptions that are recorded are spurious). The *Notitia* for regio VII list a *templum novum* of FORTUNA as yet unidentified, and Plutarch records a shrine or altar of TYCHE EUELPIS.¹¹² Fitting together so many surviving pieces of evidence may appear susceptible to accusations of succumbing to the ‘jigsaw fallacy’,¹¹³ but the archaeological discoveries make the possibility that the Republican temple was dedicated to FORTUNA still worth considering. We cannot know when Caesar acquired his gardens except in terms of *termini ante quem* (45 for those *trans Tiberim*), but it is not unreasonable to suppose that it was after 63. Some form of precedent, or at the very least a contemporary development, might then be illustrated in Lucullus’ choice of a stretch of land enclosing, or lying immediately below, another temple or shrine to FORTUNA. Moreover, one of the reasons put forward by Jolivet to discredit the idea that Pompey’s ‘upper’ gardens were located on the Pincio is that this would involve Pompey and Lucullus having neighbouring *horti*. This seems to him unlikely given their relations in the years 78–58,

¹¹¹ Broise and Jolivet (1998b), 493–4 and (2002), 167.

¹¹² CIL VI 184: see Broise and Jolivet (1991), 26. Plut. *De fort Rom.* 10 (altar), *Quaest. Rom.* 74 (shrine); cf. Aronen (1995).

¹¹³ Purcell (1993), 154 for the term.

and the apparently unusual nature of Pompey's dining with Lucullus in the well-known story related by Plutarch. The possibility of the two men each living within the gaze of, and seeking to appropriate, the same FORTUNA is in many ways an attractive one in terms of the argument I am proposing. Given the very uneasy relations that Jolivet himself underlines, moreover, the proximity of *horti* would surely not have made the pair's dining together less unusual.¹¹⁴

Lucullus' connections with FORTUNA and FELICITAS are attested in a number of ways. His grandfather, consul in 151, had founded the temple to FELICITAS in the Velabrum. The possibility that I am suggesting of a shared FORTUNA in *horti* would dovetail well with Coarelli's suggestion that Pompey chose FELICITAS for his theatre in an attempt to expropriate the cult definitively from the Licinii Luculli, who had introduced it to Rome.¹¹⁵ We have already seen Lucullus' family association with the rebuilding of Praeneste's sanctuary of FORTUNA PRIMIGENIA, demonstrated by a partially surviving inscription from the lower sanctuary.¹¹⁶ Lucullus' connection with Sulla himself, the first to take the mantle *felix* or *epaphroditus*, may further strengthen the link. Lucullus' 'retirement' to his *horti* upon withdrawal from political competition marked, as Wallace-Hadrill has shown, an alternative method of expressing his prominence or power, rather than merely a retirement to a life of luxury.¹¹⁷ I have no wish to attribute any 'standard' use of *horti* to Lucullus and Caesar. Their gardens were located in different areas of Rome, and there are real contrasts in the activities engaged in within their respective *horti* (in view of, or with the participation of, audiences of markedly varying size, and composed of different strata of the city population). These are important distinctions, and should not be glossed over lightly. FORTUNA's appropriation within, or presence near, the *horti* in question may nonetheless have been an integral part of the message projected by each 'withdrawal'.

So far I have pursued the comparison of *horti* with towns or cities, but they have also, and rightly, been likened to a stage.¹¹⁸ I have

¹¹⁴ Plut. *Luc.* 41.3–6, with Jolivet (1983), 115–16.

¹¹⁵ Coarelli (1997), 570.

¹¹⁶ *ILLRP* 369a, with n. 109 above.

¹¹⁷ Wallace-Hadrill (1998a), 3 and *passim* on different uses of the spaces constituted by *horti*.

¹¹⁸ Philo *Leg.* 359, with Beard (1998), 31–2.

suggested that Caesar and Lucullus wanted to be ‘seen to live’ in their *horti*, but I should add simply ‘to live’. For Caesar and perhaps Lucullus not only showed themselves to the city as living under FORTUNA’s gaze, but also had themselves to live under that gaze.¹¹⁹ This is particularly the case for Lucullus, who ‘retired’ to his *horti*, whereas Caesar may have spent less time in his. Beard describes the phenomenon with great lucidity when discussing *horti* under the emperors:

...we should not forget that the proprietor too was on display—and as much to himself as to onlookers from the outside world... [I]t is... a structural and inevitable truth of autocratic power that the monarch himself is the one who knows better than anyone... how flimsy his claims to monarchy are. *Self-representation must... always be top of the monarch’s agenda. And so by analogy it must be at the top of the agenda of any person of privilege, then or now.*¹²⁰

Lucullus was not emperor. Caesar may or may not have wanted to be king. Each of them chose to live in close proximity to a temple or temples to the divine quality who, in one of her original manifestations at least, was closely connected with Servius Tullius and with the notion of ‘king-making’.¹²¹ In each case the need or desire to affirm the divine quality’s protection is not difficult to imagine, and the value of holding FORTUNA, understood in different ways, in one’s own estate, seems on both a personal *and* a societal level one that should not be underestimated.

This phenomenon has earlier roots, of course, in the Hellenistic world of which Rome was a part. In the city itself, there are roots in Scipio Africanus’ *imago* being placed in the *cella* of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, making the Capitol in some sense his *atrium*. This was later developed further in Augustus’ articulation on the Palatine of his relationship with Apollo. Another, later, example relating to FORTUNA is the physical appropriation of one of her *shrines* (not

¹¹⁹ That the capacity to ‘gaze’ could be ascribed to a statue of a ‘divine being’ in Roman times may be seen e.g. in Cic. *Cat.* 3.20, with Vasaly (1993), esp. 82, and Dio Cass. 60.13.3. Val. Max. 9.15.1 makes clear the importance of different viewpoints for Caesar and spectators in the *horti Caesaris* during the banquet provided for the plebs in 45.

¹²⁰ Beard (1998), 31 (emphasis added, that on ‘self’ in original).

¹²¹ See e.g. Champeaux (1982*b*), ch. 3.

just of her cult statue) by Sejanus, if Coarelli is right that this shrine lay on the Esquiline and was incorporated into Sejanus' *domus*. The future emperor Galba too is said to have consecrated a shrine to FORTUNA at his house in Tusculum after a dream and the discovery of a statuette.¹²² If the temple that is probably to be associated with Lucullus' estate was indeed a temple of FORTUNA, it is important to note the initial east-west axis established with this temple by Augustus' Mausoleum, which itself also lay north of the horologium. Valerius Asiaticus, as a later owner of these *horti*, might have tied himself firmly into the centre of an already existing 'complex' of key Augustan buildings by the chosen location of the *nymphaeum* discussed above. Tacitus includes Asiaticus' adornment of the *horti* among the reasons for the latter's downfall, since it is alleged to have provoked the envy of Messalina. What we now think we understand about the topography of the area helps us to see how structures like the *nymphaeum* could have been used or understood as a physical reflection of his overreaching himself: Asiaticus appears in some way to have been tying himself closely to a FORTUNA already topographically connected to the first emperor.

Pompey created a new home for the deities with which he wished to be identified. In one sense, this establishment of new shrines in the city followed a more traditional practice than the partial appropriation, by proximity, of already existing cult locations. In another, of course, it was a startling innovation to establish on private land in the Campus Martius an entire complex, including *domus* and *horti*, where the deities in sight of which he dwelled were chosen by himself (or by the designer).¹²³ It is with this complex in mind that we must return to the nature of Lepidus' dedication of a temple to FELICITAS on the site of the *curia Hostilia*, in terms both of the associations it attempted to remove and those it positively created. The poignancy of choosing to dedicate to FELICITAS a temple that 'replaced' the

¹²² Scipio: Val. Max. 8.15.1–2. Sejanus: Dio Cass. 58.7.2, Plin. *HN* 36.163, with Coarelli (1988), 265–8. Note the probability of Sejanus' having inherited the property from his father, and also the associations of FORTUNA VIRGO with Nortia, the Etruscan goddess of Sejanus' hometown (modern-day Bolsena), well discussed by Strazzulla in Anselmino *et al.* (1991), 233–62. Galba: Suet. *Galb.* 4.

¹²³ Precedents like Pergamum are discussed by e.g. Coarelli (1997), 559–80, and Sauron (1994), ch. 4.

senate house with which both Sulla (Felix) and his son (Faustus) had been associated is clear enough, although it has not been paid sufficient attention. It echoes Clodius' placing of LIBERTAS' shrine on Cicero's land.¹²⁴ Clodius made the shrine to LIBERTAS part of his property on the Palatine. When Cicero found his residence inextricably and visually intertwined with the shrine of a divine quality, however, the choice of that deity was of course not his own, and his house did not stand *near* the shrine but had rather been demolished to make way for it. In the case of FELICITAS, if the temple *did* form part of the evolving Forum Iulium complex, echoes would clearly be present of Pompey's theatre, with a Venus surrounded by divine qualities. One of the new features of Pompey's complex had been the inclusion of such a large number of shrines (or at least a large number of deities) in close proximity in the theatre structure, foreshadowing in more static form the deliberate combinations of such deities (or their attributes) in later numismatic imagery.¹²⁵ The Forum Iulium, too, or the (continually evolving) reshaping of the Forum Romanum under Caesar, seems to have included a temple to FELICITAS, perhaps adjoining the *curia Iulia*, and so providing, in the old 'heart' of Rome, a new and changing configuration of certain elements found in Pompey's complex.¹²⁶ Caesar had, of course, from 63 had his official residence as *pontifex maximus* in the *domus publica* on the *via sacra*. On this house, it is assumed, was placed the *fastigium*, decreed at an unknown date by the senate, which featured in Calpurnia's well-known dream.¹²⁷ Caesar's residence in this building is a further element in, and perhaps served as a kind of anchor for, his plans in the Forum Romanum. When, as dictator, he covered

¹²⁴ Coarelli (1997), 570. Pompey's shrine to FELICITAS was dedicated in the same year as the senate commissioned Faustus Sulla to rebuild the *curia Hostilia*.

¹²⁵ e.g. App. 3, no. 6.

¹²⁶ See Coarelli (1997), 586–8 on Caesar's plans for a theatre. Regrettably, nothing can be known of the proposed location, if plans had reached such a stage, for the various other temples attested as vowed for Caesar (CONCORDIA NOVA, CLEMENTIA CAESARIS, LIBERTAS) or which have been hypothesized e.g. by Weinstock (1960, 1971).

¹²⁷ Caesar's residence in the *domus publica*: Suet. *Iul.* 46; *fastigium*: Cic. *Phil.* 2.110 (and Calpurnia's dream); Suet. *Iul.* 81.3; Flor. 2.13.91, with Weinstock (1971), 276–81. Coarelli (1983a) makes important points about the overlap of private and public functions of Roman élite houses at this time; see also Wiseman (1987), esp. 396–9.

this Forum and the *via sacra* from his house with awnings during games, the act provided more than practical advantages in terms of shade and magnificence.¹²⁸ It also drew together the large public area, parts of which Caesar was redesigning, and visually emphasized the integrity of this complex. It linked different elements, albeit ephemerally, in a manner not wholly unlike the more permanent walkway hypothesized between Pompey's house and theatre.

MAKING ONESELF HEARD

The competition between Caesar and Pompey in terms of qualities was also articulated in words, written and spoken. By presenting the two fields of contest 'side by side', it may be possible to highlight connections available to be drawn upon in this period. A vast amount of scholarly ink has been spilt in largely fruitless attempts to determine the precise significance of the various occurrences of FORTUNA in Caesar's writings, by trying to distinguish references to deity from those to quality or to make decisions about whether these writings can tell us about his 'belief' in his own FORTUNA. It is rather by accepting that the divine quality FORTUNA had a particular exegetical charge for Caesar and his audience that his own statements in his commentaries and in letters, and the statements made about him and FORTUNA, may be best appreciated.¹²⁹ One fruitful area to explore is

¹²⁸ Plin. *HN* 19. 23. Dio Cass. 43.24.2 mentions the awnings (silk in some accounts) as a mark of Caesar's extravagance. See Purcell (1996a), 143 on the importance of shows of cloth in temple porticoes and places of public spectacle.

¹²⁹ Misguided approaches: e.g. Ericsson (1944); Brutscher (1958); Bömer (1966). Cic. *Prov. cons.* 35 and *Fam.* 1.9.7 (54 BC) suggest that Caesar's association with FORTUNA was talked of during his years in Gaul. Caesar on FORTUNA: *B Gal.* 6.30, 4.26, 6.35; *B Civ.* 3.10, 3.26, 3.68, 3.73; Cic. *Att.* 10.8B. Cicero later denied Caesar an association with FELICITAS (*ep. ad Nep.* frg. 5 Watt). The famous anecdote reported e.g. in Plut. *Caes.* 38.4 (see also Plut. *De fort. Rom.* 6; App. *B Civ.* 2.57; cf. Luc. 5.510 ff.), in which Caesar told the fisherman crossing to Brundisium: 'you are carrying Caesar and Caesar's FORTUNA' (Καίσαρα φέρεις καὶ τὴν Καίσαρος ΤΥΧΗΝ συμπλέουσιν) is usually thought to post-date Caesar, perhaps invented by one of his enemies, or to have been transferred by an enemy from Caesar's earlier, successful, crossing to this unsuccessful attempt (Weinstock (1971), 121–3, who also discredits Caesar's sacrifice to FORTUNA in 49 (118: Dio Cass. 41.39.2)). It may rather be the case

the role of such qualities in celebration of Caesar and of Pompey, for example in Cicero's speech *pro Lege Manilia* and the first book of Caesar's Gallic commentaries.

In making this comparison I accept Wiseman's proposal that the Gallic commentaries were 'published' year by year during Caesar's time in Gaul, and dispatched to Rome and elsewhere to be read by or to the people.¹³⁰ This is not to suggest that senators and *equites*, both supporters and enemies of Caesar, would not also have heard and read them, nor that he might conceivably have contemplated working them up further later. It does underline, however, both that a considerable part of their importance lay in their immediate impact, and the originality of Caesar's undertaking. It was not unusual for commanders to take a historian with them on their campaigns to write up their deeds, but Caesar here wrote what amounted to the 'history' of his campaigns himself. As Wiseman points out, written as it was in the third person, his story would make more sense in such terms if read aloud by others. A further consequence of third-person narrative in such readings in Italy, and one requiring emphasis, is how Caesar's *name* would physically be uttered, and *heard*, over and over again. This was a prime concern during his years in Gaul, and 'Caesar' occurs 371 times in the seven books of his Gallic commentaries. Such a reiteration would not have been possible had he adopted first-person narrative, and in this way a potential disadvantage of appropriating the genre of history writing in the direct way Caesar did was cleverly avoided. The speech in favour of Pompey's supreme command was delivered in 66, eight years before Caesar's first book could have been written. *De Bello Gallico I* was nevertheless in some ways Caesar's first chance to 'reply' and to present himself as Pompey's equal or superior, and certainly the earliest to which we now have access. It is in this book that we might thus profitably seek parallels with Cicero's lauding of Pompey.¹³¹

that the story was transmitted by biographers, having been invented, or perhaps better, embellished, by his friends (a point I owe to Andrew Lintott).

¹³⁰ Wiseman (1998b).

¹³¹ As Welch (1998), 89 n. 21 suggests. Wiseman's proposal has not won universal support. Given that claims about *FELICITAS* in the early 50s and 40s would inevitably have brought Sulla to mind, the combination of these resonant qualities may better suit a time around the outbreak of civil war, and have been designed to reassure

Cicero had listed the four essential qualities of a perfect general as *scientia rei militaris*, *VIRTUS*, *auctoritas*, and *FELICITAS* ('knowledge of military matters, *VIRTUS*, authority, and *FELICITAS*'), in all of which he sought to illustrate Pompey excelling. He associated *FELICITAS* particularly closely with Pompey in the speech, in which a contrast was set up early on between Pompey and Lucullus. Describing the events in west and east, Cicero had flattered but played down Lucullus, by ascribing the 'great and famous' (*magna atque praeclara*) achievements with which the eastern war began to Lucullus' *VIRTUS* but explicitly *not* to his *FELICITAS*. In this way he had devalued Lucullus' *VIRTUS*.¹³² Lucullus, he implied, had failed for lack of *FELICITAS* and *FORTUNA* who/which accompanied Pompey. This was made explicit in Cicero's discussion of Pompey's *FELICITAS*, in which he compared Pompey with other successful Roman commanders given commands and armies 'not only on account of *VIRTUS*, but also of *FORTUNA*' (*non solum propter VIRTUTEM, sed etiam propter FORTUNAM*). Pompey's *VIRTUS* and *FORTUNA* were linked, again in implicit counterpoint to Lucullus'.¹³³ Cicero's *deliberate* decision not to ascribe *FELICITAS* to Lucullus, whose grandfather had founded a temple to this divine quality in the Velabrum, and whose gardens (probably laid out after this speech) might have included a temple to *FORTUNA*, may, then, ironically, for

senators that Caesar, *FELICITAS* aside, would not be another Sulla. I am grateful to Chris Pelling for bringing this point to my attention.

¹³² *Leg. Man.* 28; 10, claiming that *FORTUNA* was responsible for recent setbacks in the war.

¹³³ *Leg. Man.* 47 and 48–9 (*egregia FORTUNA*). Pompey's *VIRTUS* often features in Ciceronian oratory, both in this speech, to the people: *Leg. Man.* 3 (*singulari[s] eximiaque VIRTU[s]*), 29, 30, 33 (*incredibilis ac divina VIRTUS*), 36 (*divina atque incredibilis VIRTUS*), 59, 62, 64 (*militaris... VIRTUS*), and later: *Cat.* 2.11 (again to the people); *Flac.* 29 (*summa VIRTU[s]*); *Har. resp.* 49; *Leg. agr.* 2.60, 62 (to the people); *Mil.* 66; *Prov. cons.* 27, 31; *Sest.* 67. His *VIRTUS* and *FORTUNA* are presented together at *Mil.* 79, and even in the *pro Archia*—a speech supporting Lucullus' protégé against attacks by Pompey's supporters, and conceivably intended partially to oblige Lucullus—it is significantly still to Pompey that *VIRTUS* and *FORTUNA* are attributed (24: *noster hic Magnus, qui cum VIRTUTE FORTUNAM adaequavit* ('our Magnus, who has made *FORTUNA* equal with *VIRTUS*'), and when Lucullus himself was praised in the *pro Murena*, in the context of a trial of another of his friends, his *VIRTUS* alone is singled out (*Mur.* 33). Cf. *Balb.* 9 and *Leg. Man.* 45, where it is *FORTUNA POPULI ROMANI* who is presented as directing Pompey to Mithridates, thereby allowing the great achievements of his *VIRTUS*.

us constitute further evidence for Lucullus' claims upon this divine quality.

One passage in the *de Bello Gallico* that forms an obvious parallel to this language is to be found in Caesar's speech at 1.40 to quell the panic that had spread amongst his troops at the thought of fighting Ariovistus and the Germans:¹³⁴

for he knew that on all occasions when an army had not obeyed its general, either FORTUNA had been missing because some affair had been badly managed, or a charge of *avaritia* (greed) brought, because some crime had been discovered. His own *innocentia* (blamelessness) had been seen throughout his life, and [his] FELICITAS in the war against the Helvetii (*scire enim, quibuscumque exercitus dicto audiens non fuerit, aut male re gesta FORTUNAM defuisse, aut aliquo facinore comperto avaritiam esse convictam: suam innocentiam perpetua vita, FELICITATEM Helvetiorum bello esse perspectam*).¹³⁵

Caesar's presentation of 'greed' (*avaritia*) and loss of FORTUNA through mismanagement as alternative explanations for an army's refusing to follow its commander echoes the contrast between Pompey and other commanders presented by Cicero. *Innocentia* is, moreover, paired with FELICITAS. These words, like *avaritia*, are relatively unusual in Caesar: *avaritia* is used on only one other occasion in the *de Bello Gallico* (7.42); *innocentia* never again (and not at all in the Civil War commentaries); and FELICITAS only on one other occasion, where it does not refer to Caesar.¹³⁶ Caesar here applies FELICITAS directly to himself, both in his capacity as narrator and as speaker within the narrative. The very rarity of these words in the Caesarian corpus, and their clear contrast here, point to a deliberate pairing. This may well intentionally echo the oppositions set up by Cicero, who stresses Pompey's *innocentia* (*Leg. Man.* 36) in explicit contrast to the *cupiditas* (37, 67) and *avaritia* (37, 39, 40) of others. In this speech to his troops, Caesar thus makes full use of his double role as speaker and narrator to present himself as endowed with certain qualities (divine and other) which Cicero had attributed to Pompey in 66.

¹³⁴ The parallel is noted by Welch (1998), 89 n. 21.

¹³⁵ *B Gall.* 1.40.

¹³⁶ *B Gall.* 6.43, where Caesar's troops fail to attain *summam FELICITATEM* by catching Ambiorix; FELICITAS features three times in the *B Civ.*, twice linked to FORTUNA (*B Civ.* 3.26 and 3.73, also at 2.31). Cf. n. 131 above.

DIVINE QUALITIES IN NEGOTIATION

Cicero, of course, eventually himself had occasion to speak in praise of Caesar. Once resident in Rome again after Pharsalus, he saw himself as an exile *in* the city, because the *res publica* resided, first, in any continuing opposition to Caesar and then, eventually, in Caesar himself. (This rather resembles Cicero's suggestion that the *res publica* had been with, or identical to, himself during his absence in 58.)¹³⁷ Particularly interesting are the 'Caesarian' speeches for Marcellus, Ligarius, and King Deiotarus, which saw the end of Cicero's voluntary silence in this period. In these orations he can be seen playing to an audience rather different from those in front of whom he had earlier performed and from those he was later to encounter; to one limited, in the first and last of these three speeches, to Caesar and his *consilium*. Cicero's attempts verbally to surpass the honours given to Pompey are clearly apparent. He expresses gratitude for Caesar's *VIRTUS* and *FELICITAS*, but, while he had claimed that *FORTUNA POPULI ROMANI* had helped Pompey, *FORTUNA* (here connoting something of chance and recklessness) does not obtrude into partnership in Caesar's glory in the speech of thanks for Marcellus. She/it rather yields to him, although the prosecutor of Deiotarus is said to have alleged, and Cicero chooses to repeat, that Caesar was saved by his *FORTUNA* at the king's court.¹³⁸ Visible too are seeds of later negotiations with emperors.¹³⁹ Let us take as an example those involving *VICTORIA* and *CLEMENTIA*.

Weinstock suggests that Cicero was responsible, through these speeches, for *CLEMENTIA* becoming a divine quality under Caesar: 'Whether Cicero wanted and planned it or not, all he said about the divine nature of clemency and of the statesman who exercised it logically led to this decree of the Senate: a common temple of Caesar and the new personification, with their statues in the act of clasping hands'.¹⁴⁰ *CLEMENTIA* is indeed mentioned a significant number of

¹³⁷ Opposition to Caesar: e.g. *Fam.* 15.20.2 to Trebonius: 'the *res publica* is over there' (*res publica... istic est*). Cicero on his exile: see Ch. 5.

¹³⁸ *Marcell.* 19, 6–7; *Deiot.* 19, 21.

¹³⁹ See esp. Wallace-Hadrill (1983), ch. 7.

¹⁴⁰ Weinstock (1971), 241, and generally 236–43.

times in the three speeches. CLEMENTIA is said to deserve to be celebrated 'in everyone's praise, in public proclamation, in writing, and in monuments' (*omnium laude, praedicatione, litteris monumentisque*), and, perhaps once the temple had been voted in 45, Cicero reminded Caesar that 'there are many monuments to your CLEMENTIA' (*multa sunt monimenta CLEMENTIAE tuae*).¹⁴¹ Weinstock suggests that the temple, given its name, might have been intended to give asylum, like the altar of ELEOS in Athens, and that in the end it was never built because the temple of Divus Julius came to fulfil that function.¹⁴² Temples and shrines to other divine qualities, however, as we have observed, were tied into the social fabric of the city in numerous ways: as spaces in which rites were carried out, and in which portents might occur; as spaces which were talked of, dreamed of, in which dedications were made and other actions carried out in which different aspects of the divine quality were drawn upon. What I am suggesting is not, of course, that Cicero and others desired to be able to 'worship' at the temple of CLEMENTIA CAESARIS, or of Caesar and CLEMENTIA. It is rather that some positive aspects of the existence of such a space might have been recognized in terms of future interactions with Caesar, as provoking continued public affirmations of Caesar's relationship with CLEMENTIA, and perhaps as creating a need for him to 'live up to' his association with the divine quality. Surviving coins featuring the temple must have been minted soon after that monument was decreed, hurrying to establish CLEMENTIA (and the temple) in physical form.¹⁴³ The presentation of (already divine) VICTORIA, in contrast with CLEMENTIA, in the course of the *pro Marcello* supports this interpretation. VICTORIA is presented as 'VICTORIA, who/which is by nature insolent and haughty' (*VICTORIA, quae natura insolens et superba est*); as having frightened Marcellus with her/its *ferocitas* ('ferocity'); and as having *ira* ('anger') against the citizens, coming to be associated with the VICTORIA that *would* have come into

¹⁴¹ *Lig.* 6, 15, 19, 29, 30, *Marcell.* 1, 12, 18, *Deiot.* 8, 40, 43, quotations from *Lig.* 6 and *Deiot.* 40.

¹⁴² Weinstock (1971), 242–3. On the existence of the altar of ELEOS, see Ch. 2, esp. n. 7 above.

¹⁴³ App. 3, no. 1, on which see Ch. 4 above.

existence had the other side won. Caesar is portrayed as having (with his CLEMENTIA) vanquished (this) VICTORIA.¹⁴⁴

Cicero's speeches from these years might at first seem morally repugnant, but when the temple that was planned is considered in the light of other, similar spaces in the city, his prose takes on a more positive quality, through the implications of its contribution to the elevation of another positive quality to divine status in Rome. We might want to compare an association of Vacuna and VICTORIA, which is attributed to Varro by the Pseudo-Acronian scholia on Horace *Epistles* 1.10.49. If this has been correctly assigned to a preface to the first book of Varro's *Antiquitates Rerum Divinarum*, Varro (who was also pardoned by Caesar) appears to have been able to use a pre-existing association (or perhaps even to create an association) between a Sabine deity and VICTORIA in order to justify his project in writing, or his subject matter, by drawing out one positive and personal association for him of Caesar's VICTORIA.¹⁴⁵ Aulus Caecina, on the other hand, who was forbidden to enter Italy after Pharsalus because of his written attack on Caesar during the civil war, attempted to make amends by writing a book of remonstrances (*liber querelarum*). In this work, Cicero informs us, he described Caesar's *mitis clemensque natura* ('mild and clement disposition'). In a later letter to Cicero he nonetheless made it clear that participants in rites could, as he had, make vows to their VICTORIA while hoping, during this and other sacrifices, for victory over Caesar: *nemo nostrum est, ut opinor, quin vota VICTORIAE suae fecerit, nemo quin, etiam cum de alia re immolaret, tamen eo quidem ipso tempore ut quam primum Caesar superaretur optarit* ('No one among us, I think, did other than make his vows to his VICTORIA and no one, even when sacrificing in some other connection, at the very same time but preferred that Caesar would be overcome as soon as

¹⁴⁴ Marcell. 9, 16, 17; Marcell. 16, 12; cf. e.g. *Fam.* 5.21.3 (April 46): 'I think that there will be little difference between their VICTORIAE' (...*inter VICTORIAS non multum interfuturum putem*).

¹⁴⁵ *sed Varro primo rerum divinarum VICTORIAM ait, quod ea maxime hi gaudent, qui sapientiae vacent* ('but Varro in the first book of his *res divinae* says that [Vacuna] is VICTORIA, since those who put aside time for intellectual pursuits rejoice especially in her'), with e.g. Tarver (1996), Jocelyn (1982).

possible').¹⁴⁶ These questions of 'living up to', or creating space(s) for dialogue through, divine qualities associated with men like Caesar will recur and be important again when we come to consider the nature of attempted imperial appropriations of these qualities.

Other new temples and new cults planned in Rome during Caesar's dictatorship included one to *CONCORDIA NOVA*, its name clearly emphasizing a 'new content', or new referent for the divine quality, probably in a bid to distance it from that associated with Opimius' temple.¹⁴⁷ Caesar may also have begun in his creation of resources to draw upon qualities other than those legitimized by their elevation to the divine sphere through public cult. To the possibilities raised by the coin issues (*pax*, *triumpus*) discussed in Chapter 4 we should add the quantitatively new resource of colonial foundations.

COLONIES

Colonies had of course been founded within Italy from early in the Republican period, but it was under Caesar that they were first established overseas in any number, creating settlements that formed parts of Rome, though at greater distances from the city itself than ever before. If the colony on Corsica attributed to Marius and named *Mariana* was in fact founded after Marius' death, it was also under Caesar that such colonies first bore the name of their founder.¹⁴⁸ This link deserves attention, together with the other elements of the titles. The renaming of Malventum as Beneventum as early as 268 gives

¹⁴⁶ Written attack: Cic. *Fam.* 6.6.8 (c. Oct 46) and Suet. *Iul.* 75; Cic. *Fam.* 6.7.2 (late Dec. 46/early Jan. 45), although Shackleton-Bailey distinguishes the book referred to at the beginning of the later letter from the *liber querelarum* approved by Cicero in the earlier.

¹⁴⁷ Dio Cass. 44.4.5.

¹⁴⁸ *Mariana*: Plin. *HN* 3.80, with Salmon (1969), n. 246 on the date. Beneventum: Livy 9.27.14, and cf. Nequinum, renamed Narnia on the foundation of a colony there in 293 (see Salmon (1969), 60). Difficulties in distinguishing Caesarian from Augustan settlements (or even those of Tiberius, Caligula, or Julia Domna): Galsterer-Kröll (1972), esp. 65. A similar problem is created by 'abstractions' in the title, but Hoyos (1979), esp. section IV, argues convincingly for the likelihood of Caesarian dating of many of these.

some indication of the auspicious importance that could be attached to the name of a settlement.

Although the ambiguity of *Iulia* in a colony's title does not always make it easy to distinguish Caesarian foundations from those under Augustus and other Julians, those that probably date back to Caesar include in their titles a number of qualities. Some are divine qualities; others did not receive cult in Rome. Both modes of naming had precedents: Thurii and Vibo, for example, founded in 193 and 192 respectively, were named *Copia* and *VALENTIA*. Salmon suggests that Gaius Gracchus 'no doubt [had] propaganda in mind' in his adoption of nomenclature from divinities in his colonies, founded at Tarentum (*Neptunia*) and Scolacium (*Minervia*), and projected for Carthage (*Iunonia*, in evocation or appropriation of Punic Tanit).¹⁴⁹ The term 'propaganda' is again unhelpful here, but in the case of Caesar's foundations, we should indeed think in terms of the impact of these titles in Rome as well as their impact in the individual settlements themselves, in order to appreciate the latter more fully.

Itucci in Spain, for example, was known as *VIRTUS IULIA*, Olisipo (Lisbon) was named *FELICITAS IULIA*, Hadrumetum (Sousse) *COLONIA CONCORDIA*, Nertobriga (Frejenál de la Sierra) *CONCORDIA IULIA*, Apamea in Bithynia (near modern Mudanya) *COLONIA IULIA CONCORDIA*, Carthage *CONCORDIA IULIA*, and Pola (Pula) in Istria *PIETAS IULIA*.¹⁵⁰ Weinstock assumes that any foundation named after a deity would have had a cult of that deity, and also argues for the Caesarian origin of *PAX IULIA* in Lusitania and hence of the goddess *PAX*.¹⁵¹ Although the

¹⁴⁹ Salmon (1969), 119. Precedents in *Saturnia* (183), where Gracchus' father was one of the founding commissioners, and *Narbo Martius* (Narbonne) in 114.

¹⁵⁰ Itucci: Plin. *HN* 3.12; Brunt (1971), 591 challenges its necessarily being Caesarian. Olisipo: Plin. *HN* 4.117; *CIL* II 176, 185–8, 190. Hadrumetum: *CIL* VIII 11138. Nertobriga: Plin. *HN* 3.14; *CIL* XIV 2613; *EE* 8, p. 382, no. 82. Apamea: *CIL* III 6992. Carthage: *ILS* 9469, *CIL* VIII 15205, 15529, 23820, 26615. Fraschetti (1984) makes a convincing case for the possibility of Pola being Caesarian.

¹⁵¹ Cults: Weinstock (1971), 264–5; Brunt (1971), 593 connects the title *CONCORDIA* at Carthage (*CONCORDIA IULIA*) with the temple of *CONCORDIA NOVA* at Rome in 44. *PAX*: Weinstock (1960), 46, (1971), 269 on *PAX IULIA* (Beja) and *Forum Iulium Pacatum* (Fréjus); cf. Vittinghoff (1952), 78, opting for the probability of an Augustan foundation. The evidence Weinstock adduces in support of the existence of a cult both at Beja and elsewhere is, on his own admission, Augustan and later (Weinstock (1960), 46 n. 27 for the coin, 27a for a statue from Thysdrus). Cf. Henderson (quoted in Brunt (1971), 593), 'Caesar did not call his colonies names like Pax!'

former contention is attractive, the latter inference is not inevitable, since Corinth and Ilipula were given the title *Laus Iulia* (*Corinthiensis*), Ucubi (Espejo) was called *Claritas Iulia*, and, in Baetica, Seria was called *Fama Iulia*.¹⁵² Whether or not the qualities in question had received cult in Rome, however, we must imagine them sitting at one of the very blurred boundaries around divine qualities and hence taking on something of their tone. If and when such cult locations did exist, they were no doubt intended to form inclusive links between Rome and those settled, and among the settlers themselves, through a medium rather less ephemeral than the passwords considered at the beginning of this chapter. The spaces created by such locations, however—both the putative temples and shrines and indeed the colonies themselves—would have been accessible or at least *visible* in the same way to those living in or alongside the foundations as were those we have examined in Rome itself. Without evidence of the existence of cult locations, the particular forms of interaction that might have taken place there are now lost to us, but these are important potential nodes of which to be aware on the wider web we are trying to discern.

If it is in some ways more difficult to glimpse alternative readings or contested meanings and associations of divine qualities in this period, this is partly a result of the focus in extant sources upon the great commanders, and partly a result of the ever-increasing power of these men to mobilize and control more resources, and more kinds of resources, empire-wide. The design of Pompey's theatre-complex, as we have seen, in its combination of shrines to divine qualities, may have drawn upon particular readings of those divine qualities, which were linked to other aspects of the complex and differentiated for viewers in different areas. The creation of such complexes, as opposed to the building of individual shrines examined in earlier chapters, allowed greater control over the meanings available to be drawn upon, because to find alternative readings required greater effort on the part of a viewer. Our lack of knowledge about the proposed location of the majority of the shrines under Caesar prevents more detailed analysis, but the shrine to *FELICITAS* completed by Lepidus, at least, has been

¹⁵² Corinth: *AE* 1923, 11; *BMC* Corinth 58 n. 484; Ucubi: Plin. *HN* 3.12; *CIL* II 1553, 1559, 1572–3, 2223; Seria: Pliny *HN* 3.14. Gelzer (1969), 297 argues for *Ebora Liberalitas Iulia* in Lusitania also being Caesarian (see also Vittinghoff (1952), 77).

shown to fit into a Caesarian complex in the *fora* (Romanum and Iulium) similar to that created by Pompey.

In the last decades of the Republic, the means and opportunities for interaction with divine qualities also began to change. Scattered reports of the crowd's reaction to theatrical events show that divine qualities continued to provoke strong reactions in relation to individuals—and not just Caesar and Pompey, as the reading of the line of Accius' *Brutus* in terms of Cicero's situation testifies. Clodius' attack on Cicero, too, involved the creation of a space in which interpretations or associations of *LIBERTAS* were fought over with vehemence. Opportunities for interaction, at least those addressed in surviving sources, do focus upon the association of the most prominent individuals with given qualities. The validity of these associations nevertheless continued to be debated by different people, and associations continued to be made and contested for different reasons. Although, in extant sources at least, Cicero refers publicly only after Caesar's death to Caesar binding his enemies to him 'by a semblance of *CLEMENTIA*' (*CLEMENTIAE specie*),¹⁵³ his reactions were, unsurprisingly, more immediate and more open in his private correspondence. During Caesar's dictatorship Cicero commented to Atticus, with regard to the senate's decision to set up a statue of Caesar with the inscription *deo invicto* ('to the unconquered god') in the temple of Quirinus near Atticus' house: *eum σύνναον Quirino malo quam SALUTI* ('I prefer him to share a temple with Quirinus than with *SALUS*').¹⁵⁴ On the basis of this remark, Weinstock imagined a plan to set up Caesar's statue in the temple of *SALUS*, eventually rejected in favour of that of Quirinus.¹⁵⁵ Corbeill, rightly considering Cicero's comment rather in the context of the 'political history of wit', suggests a less allusive interpretation, in which Cicero saw Caesar's proximity to *SALUS* as posing a threat to the *SALUS* of the state, so that Caesar would 'do less harm sharing his quarters with Quirinus'.¹⁵⁶ In this remark (which is indeed far more likely to be a joke of his own than a

¹⁵³ *Phil.* 2.116.

¹⁵⁴ *Att.* 12.45.3 (17 May 45).

¹⁵⁵ Weinstock (1971), 171 infers too much in seeing this as 'substantial support' for the existence at this time of an association of Caesar with *SALUS*, as confirmed by the introduction of an oath *per SALUTEM Caesaris* (Dio Cass. 44.50). He goes so far as to suggest that a temple for *SALUS CAESARIS* was probably planned.

¹⁵⁶ Corbeill (1996), 207.

reference to an actual proposal such as Weinstock envisaged), Cicero spoke again of the temple of SALUS near Atticus' house, to which he had referred in celebration of his own return from exile.¹⁵⁷ He now drew on that resource again, in order to express private disapprobation of the association of Caesar and SALUS. In this sense, the idea of placing Caesar's statue in this temple, like the actual placement of Cato's statue there, allowed inferences about the association of the two to be made and reacted to. In January 49, with Caesar approaching Rome, Cicero had quoted Euripides' *Phoenissae* (506), suggesting to Atticus that all Caesar's many actions were to be attributed to 'the greatest of the gods, Tyranny' (τὴν θεῶν μεγίστην . . . Τυραννίδα). This remark perhaps highlights still more clearly how the negotiation observed in his speech for Marcellus might be considered brave rather than obsequious.¹⁵⁸

Increasing individual power over the mobilization of resources could lead to greater control over the polysemy of divine qualities, and over the spaces in which alternative interpretations of those qualities could be made. Divine qualities nevertheless continued to be significant to a range of different people precisely because they were established elements, with shared meanings, in a system for ordering and making sense of the world. They could be drawn upon not only by various contestants for power, but also by others: critics, cynics, and suppliants. Cicero had attempted to establish the association of Caesar and CLEMENTIA in his *pro Marcello*. Those initiating the proposed temple attempted to make that association more permanent, knowing that Caesar (had he survived) would live and be seen to live 'with' CLEMENTIA. The personal adoption of a divine quality, or association with one, through any resource—whether by Pompey and Caesar in their *horti* or by Brutus through his coin of LIBERTAS—exerted different kinds of pressure upon the individuals in question to live up to common readings of that quality.

¹⁵⁷ Ch. 5.

¹⁵⁸ Cic. *Att.* 7.11.1, adding 'let him keep his FORTUNA' (*sibi habeat suam FORTUNAM*). In the *de Officiis*, written after Caesar's death in 44, Cicero claimed that Caesar always had on his lips verses from the same speech by Eteocles in the *Phoenissae*, which Cicero renders: *nam si violandum est ius regnandi gratia / violandum est; aliis rebus PIETATEM colas* (3.82: 'For if justice must be violated for the sake of rule, it must be violated; in all else you should revere PIETAS').

Conclusions

The association of traditional Roman virtues with the figure of the emperor... is a prime example of how Augustus and his successors successfully appropriated and monopolized different forms of symbolic capital.

Noreña (2001), 152

Their simulacra were evidently an important part of the worship of the abstracts. *Templa, arae*, and *simulacra* are often mentioned in descriptions of their worship.

Lind (1973), 118 n. 37

This study of the history of the cognitive vocabulary constituted by divine qualities in the middle and late Republic has sought to explain how they were valuable, what roles they played in how people thought, and ultimately to explain why—or, again, better *how*—they were, and continue to be, thought of as ‘traditional[ly] Roman’. Not a distinct or a closed theological group, the qualities receiving cult in Rome in this period sit rather in a fascinating intersection between the *foci* of the ritual calendar—that ‘conceptual pageant of Rome and of what it was to be Roman’¹—and the terms in which those who retain a voice in extant writing from or about the period spoke, thought, and wrote about themselves and other people(s). The divine and discursive nature of these deities allows us to glimpse something of the complexity of the parts they played in the social processes making up public life. As elements in a system—Roman religion—conceptualizing the world, divine qualities took on a particular tone when expressed in any form. Public religion was not

¹ And its exegeses. Beard (1987), 7, on which see Ch. 1.

a separate sphere in Roman society: it might in fact usefully be conceived of as the register, permeating public life, that determined the tone of certain elements of the vocabularies of that public life, broadly understood. It thereby granted those elements a peculiarly intense explanatory force, a particular resonance in explaining and ordering the world. This resonance could come to the aid of a Cicero, who knew the ‘virtues’ of post-Platonic philosophy, in writing a treatise on the nature of the gods, a moneyer designing a commemorative coin-field, or a freedman honouring *HONOS*. It could also, indeed, serve a (later) visitor to a Pompeian brothel, who summarized his experience with the graffito *VICTRIX VICTORIA*[M] (‘*VICTORIA VICTRIX*’—‘*VICTORIA* the bringer of *VICTORIA*’), in which the accompanying epithet helps to show that we are far from the more ‘conceptual’ end of the spectrum of *VICTORIA*’s connotations.²

Although the nature of surviving evidence inevitably requires much reliance on elite sources, we are permitted glimpses of what happened—and of what might have happened—on the ground.³ Divine qualities allow us to probe a little further into terms in which those outside the elite might have made sense of their experiences. They do so both in terms of the lexis of the debates that such people watched, heard, and understood as members of audiences in theatres and *contiones*, and also through the opportunities available to them themselves to engage more actively with divine qualities, and to use them as *foci* around which to order their worlds. Imperial examples reinforce this sense of the cognitive importance of divine qualities beyond the elite. We shall consider a small selection of such examples in the second part of this chapter and Appendix 5, drawing on kinds of material that are scarcely extant for the Republican period.⁴

One way in which divine qualities were important was the range of their forms of expression, which was wider than that of other qualities not honoured with cult in Rome. Any quality might be evoked in speech or writing, in public or private, or even be personified, in

² *CIL* IV 2212.

³ Purcell (1987*a*), 187 draws attention to ‘the belief that what was possible can be as important to scholarship as what can be proven to have been so’.

⁴ App. 5 gathers together divine qualities in a variety of contexts in Pompeian graffiti.

poetry or prose, but in the Republic only *divine* qualities could be found having temples, altars, and rituals, expressed as statues, depicted and named on coins, and, perhaps, articulated as passwords. Naturally, for any divine quality to have been granted public cult, whatever its original meaning or meanings, it had to be considered important by the cult founder and by a wider constituency, probably including the senators approving the cult's introduction. The divine quality's importance was not generated *ex nihilo* by the act of foundation. It was partly through the foundation, however, and the divine quality's subsequent expression through a set of resources like temples, coin images, and passwords, that a range of different people interacted with divine qualities, and that they were fought for, fought about, and fought over. These interactions were essential for the continued importance of divine qualities, and for their ultimate association, then and now, with 'Rome'. Beard identified what was essential for the survival of festivals in the Roman calendar as the continual capacity to produce histories and aetiologies.⁵ Divine qualities, too, existed meaningfully only through continuing explorations of their significance by and for different people, through claims about people's (and peoples') positions relative to the divine qualities—and, through those divine qualities, to each other. Opportunities for such claims and explorations may have been more numerous, and such claims may thus have been cued more often, once physical resources existed like temples, cult statues, rituals, and coin images.

For these claims and explorations, taking place in the many different ways examined in this book, were often connected to a physical resource. Slaves in a Plautine comedy, associating themselves with the message they brought, equated this message, and therefore themselves, with *SALUS* and *FORTUNA* by asking for altar and sacrifice. Marius and Sulla competed for association with *VICTORIA* through monuments on the Capitol that probably resembled each other. M' Acilius Glabrio, in dedicating the temple of *PIETAS* vowed by his father, further reinforced this act of *PIETAS*, and drew further attention to the filial aspect of the divine quality by placing a golden statue of his father in that temple. Ti. Sempronius Gracchus reinforced a

⁵ Beard (1987), on which see Ch. 1.

family connection with *LIBERTAS*, by placing the painting from the battle at Beneventum that depicted freed slaves wearing *pilei* in the temple to (Iuppiter) *LIBERTAS* founded by his father. If, as surviving evidence suggests, his father's foundation asserted plebeian *LIBERTAS* against arrogant remarks about the plebs, such as that attributed to Claudia when deploring overcrowding in the city, then the aspect of *LIBERTAS* emphasized by the son (that is, freedom from slavery) was different. Brutus drew upon yet another connotation of *LIBERTAS* as the (polar) opposite of tyranny, by minting a coin featuring his ancestor and that divine quality. Cicero and Clodius' discussion of a later cult statue of *LIBERTAS* exemplifies conflicting definitions of a resource in relation to a given situation: erected by Clodius to associate Cicero with tyranny and himself with freedom from such tyranny, the statue was devalued by Cicero as connected to prostitution, death, and robbery (through his identification, spurious or not, of the statue as that of a Greek courtesan, taken from her tomb in Tanagra). Cicero later described the shrine as *templum LICENTIAE*, drawing upon the space marked out and appropriated by Clodius in order to redefine Clodius' actions in his (Cicero's) own terms. The people of the colony of Brundisium seem to have used their celebration of the (Roman) festival day of *SALUS* to make claims about Cicero's return, because he arrived at Brundisium, and so back in Italy, on that day.⁶

On occasion, the very right of an individual wishing to found a temple to a divine quality was contested, whether the challenge focused upon the form of the edifice itself (as in the case of Marcellus with *HONOS* and *VIRTUS*) or upon the founder's right to carry out a particular, or any, dedication (as with Flavius and *CONCORDIA*). Megellus' enemies may have suppressed in their historical record the victories that probably financed his temple to *VICTORIA*, and may have allowed this temple, financed (wholly or in part) by *manubiae*, to be commemorated in history as an aedilician foundation, funded

⁶ Plautus *Asin.* 712–27, with Ch. 3; Marius and Sulla: Plut. *Mar.* 32, *Sull.* 6, *Caes.* 6, Suet. *Itul.* 11, with Ch. 4; Glabrio: Livy 40.34.4–6, Val. Max. 2.5.1, with Ch. 2; Gracchus: Livy 24.16.19; Claudia: Livy *Per.* 19, Val. Max. 8.1. damn. 4; Gell NA 10.6–7, Suet. *Tib.* 2.3, with Ch. 2; Brutus: *RRC* 433/1 = App. 3, no. 22, with Ch. 4; Tanagra: Cic. *Dom.* esp. 111, 116, *templum LICENTIAE*: Cic. *Leg.* 2.42, with Ch. 6; Brundisium: Cic. *Att.* 4.1.4, with Ch. 5.

by fines. The temple occupied a space that associated certain events in the city's (and Megellus' own) history with VICTORIA. This space, because it existed, required 'rereading' to support alternative histories. Opimius' erection of the temple to CONCORDIA after the deaths of Gaius Gracchus and his supporters created another prominent edifice in the heart of Rome, on which graffiti rereading his imposed CONCORDIA were allegedly written. A hostile reaction to a dramatic line prophesying lamentation of 'VIRTUS' was thought important enough to be reported to Pompey, who had been associated with this and other divine qualities by Cicero in speeches, such as that on the *lex Manilia*. Pompey later included, among the shrines in the permanent theatre he provided for Rome, a space in which a shrine of VIRTUS was set among those of other divine qualities, overlooking the audience.⁷

Attempts to associate qualities with particular *groups* were also made, and challenged, through practical resources. Agathocles attempted to emphasize positive links between 'Rome' and FIDES by ascribing the foundation of the first temple of FIDES on the Palatine to Rhome even before the city was founded, while the Elder Pliny later used one aetiology of the temple of PIETAS to privilege the association of 'Romans' and that quality. The story, recounted by Cicero, of the rediscovery of a plaque, and hence a cult site, sacred to HONOS, may hint at a desire to push association with that quality far back in time. Dionysius of Halicarnassus made such a claim more explicitly, alluding to long-standing and numerous sacrifices to VICTORIA and FIDES in the city. C. Cassius, according to Cicero, sought to create a link between the senate and CONCORDIA by placing a statue of CONCORDIA in the Curia, while the protection of SALUS and of FIDES was sought for the audiences of two of Plautus' plays. Bubulcus Brutus seems to have tried to establish (or re-establish) a relationship between SALUS and plebeians through his foundation of a temple to that divine quality, and Verginia, at least in Livy's rendering of the story, asserted the same connection for plebeians with PUDICITIA. This connection

⁷ Marcellus: Livy 27.25.7–9, Val. Max. 1.1.8, Plut. *Marc.* 28.1, with Ch. 2; Flavius: Livy 9.46; Megellus: Livy 10.33.9, both with Ch. 2; graffiti: Plut. *C. Gracch.* 17.6, with Ch. 5; audience reaction: Cic. *Att.* 2.19.3, Val. Max. 6.2.9, with Ch. 6; Pompey and VIRTUS in Cicero: *Leg. Man.* 3, 29, 33, 36, 62, 64, *Cat.* 2.11, *Flac.* 29, *Har. resp.* 49, *Leg. agr.* 2.60, 62, *Mil.* 66, 79, *Prov. cons.* 27, 31, *Sest.* 67, *Arch.* 24, with Ch. 6.

was established, in the Livian version, in a deliberate attempt to outdo the association of patrician women with PUDICITIA. Juvenal used an altar of PUDICITIA, as the victim of nocturnal micturation by women, to denigrate any positive association between PUDICITIA and women in his day. A master and a slave in the *Aulularia* told the audience something about themselves (characters *and* audience) when they were presented emphasizing different 'lexical meanings', different aspects, of FIDES, in appeals made to that divine quality by her temple. Accounts of the route and actions of Nasica and his supporters on the last day of Tiberius Gracchus' life illustrate, consciously or not, a striking reversal of the ritual route taken by the *flamines* on FIDES' festival-day, perhaps suggesting a reading that undermined these men's association with FIDES by contrasting their actions with the rites to the divine quality. Different groups, making different associations with a divine quality, might worship or otherwise draw on that quality to link themselves with the same symbol: SPES could be important for a senator or a slave, for example, although the 'hopes' of each are unlikely to have been identical, while MENS (BONA) was honoured by different groups in Rome and in other locations in Italy—those facing external threat and those celebrating freedom from slavery. The anxiety created by the statue of VICTORIA found off its pedestal in 296, and suggested by the interpretation and reinterpretation of the meaning of this prodigy, implies that a large number of people may have felt shared concern about VICTORIA. Cicero challenged the anchoring of one divine quality in the city of Rome when he suggested that LIBERTAS left Rome with him in his exile. Juvenal remarked with surprise that *pecunia* had no temple in Rome, though devoutly worshipped, comparing a non-existent, but in his view appropriate, shrine with those that did exist to divine qualities in the city (PAX, FIDES, VICTORIA, VIRTUS, and CONCORDIA). He used shrines in existence as a springboard for thinking about, and here deriding, what was important to the community.⁸

⁸ Agathocles: Festus 328L, with Ch. 2; PIETAS: Plin. *HN* 7.121, with Ch. 2; HONOS: Cic. *Leg.* 2.58, with Ch. 2; sacrifice: Dion. Hal. 1.32.5, 5.68.4, with Ch. 5; Cassius: Cic. *Dom.* 130–6, with Ch. 5; audience protection: Plaut. *Poen.* 128, *Cas.* 1–2, with Ch. 3; Brutus and SALUS: Livy 9.43.25, with Ch. 2; Verginia: Livy 10.23, with Ch. 2; Juvenal and PUDICITIA: Juv. 6.306–12, with Ch. 1; master and slave: Plaut. *Aul.* 582–6; 608–23, with Ch. 3; Nasica: Vell. Pat. 2.3, Val. Max. 3.2.17, Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 19.3–4, with

Explorations of these qualities and their relationship with individuals or groups were carried out by, in sight of, or with an anticipated audience of, a range of different people. Although the symbolic and material capital required to have a temple built, a festival initiated, a statue made, a coin minted with a particular image, to found a colony, or to choose a password, was clearly confined to the élite, these resources, as I remarked earlier of temples, did not 'simply exist' once they came into being. Once they were created—once the temple was vowed and built, the festival added to the calendar, the statue made, the coin image in circulation, the colony in existence, or the password uttered—they entered a public domain. There they became visible or accessible to a greater number of people, be it the person alleged to have written upon Opimius' temple to *CONCORDIA*, a hostile theatre audience, a historian with a very specific agenda, the people of Brundisium greeting Cicero on his return from exile, or earlier inhabitants of land later used for *coloniae*. Divine qualities in drama were presented to a wide range of spectators. In Plautine and other plays there is good evidence for the full range of characters (slave and free, men and women, young and old) calling on, or otherwise thinking in terms of, divine qualities. Questions are also clearly raised in such plays, about 'who we are' as individuals, and 'who we are' as a collective, which revolve around qualities receiving cult, and/or in the process of receiving temples, in Rome.⁹

Oral culture, indeed, seems to have played an important role in the airing of this cognitive vocabulary among groups that obviously

Ch. 5; dedications to *SPES* by slaves: *ILLRP* 730, 734, 740, with Ch. 5; *MENS (BONA)*: *ILLRP* 226, 225, 227, 228, *InAq* (1991), nos. 1 and 2, with Ch. 5, and Plut. *De fort. Rom.* 5, with Ch. 4; *VICTORIA* off pedestal: Zonar. 8.1, with Ch. 5; *LIBERTAS* leaves Rome: Cic. *Red. sen.* 34, with Ch. 6; Juvenal and *pecunia*: Juv. 1.113–16: 'though calamitous money does not as yet live in a *templum*, we have not put up altars to coins, as *PAX* and *FIDES*, *VICTORIA* and *VIRTUS* are worshipped, and that *CONCORDIA* who rattles when her nest is greeted' (*etsi funesta pecunia templo / nondum habitat, nullas nummorum ereximus aras, / ut colitur PAX atque FIDES, VICTORIA, VIRTUS / quaeque salutato crepitat CONCORDIA nido*). cf. Plut. *De fort. Rom.* 5, discussing shrines to *VIRTUS* and *FORTUNA* in Rome, who comments that 'even to this day they have no shrine of wisdom or prudence or magnanimity or constancy or moderation' (σοφίας δὲ μέχρι καὶ νῦν ἱερὸν οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ σωφροσύνης ἢ μεγαλοψυχίας ἢ καρτερίας ἢ ἐγκρατείας). August. *De civ. D.* 7.12 (see also 4.21) makes it clear that *PECUNIA* did feature in a Varronian account of deities.

⁹ See Ch. 3.

included, but were also broader than, élites. Many more utterances are inevitably lost to us than are now preserved in, or implied by, the written words that remain. The number of articulations that *are* so preserved hint strongly, however, at this role: those in the important questions, allusions, and light-hearted wordplay heard in performances of Plautine plays; in *sententiae* of Publilius Syrus, which were also heard in theatrical performances, and some of which became proverbial;¹⁰ in the reactions of theatre audiences to lines in such plays, and in their quotation or repetition of certain lines; in speeches heard in *contiones*; in vows that may well have accompanied epigraphic dedications by a range of individuals; in the uttering, indeed, of a password in battle, by a general and his men. Divine qualities, I suggest, have a role in the ‘rich, varied, and robustly vigorous’ popular culture of which Horsfall’s recent work has done much to allow us glimpses—a culture very closely tied to ‘theatre, games in various senses, music, songs, dance, memory’, and proverbs. This is especially the case if one considers what Horsfall himself terms the ‘powerful role’ of the plebs in late Republican politics, not so much running in ‘parallel’ with that culture, as Horsfall does, but rather as integral to it, or at least, as *integrated with it*.¹¹ We might well wish to do so, given the ways in which divine qualities were used in persuading *contiones*, as outlined in the previous chapter, and given their role in imperial acclamations, to be examined shortly.

These instantiations in oral culture were linked in various important ways to the kinds of physical resources whose embodiment of, and stimulus to, the claims and questions articulated around divine qualities I have sought to elucidate and emphasize. We need to be fully aware of the attested or potential links between any two surviving actualizations, and these are not always as direct as the verbatim inscription of an oral utterance. We need to be aware of connections, that is, among the different ways in which divine qualities were expressed. Topographical and literary ‘readings’ must be used together, barriers broken down, and categories blurred for a deeper appreciation of the way Roman religion operated in social life. It would be absurd to suggest that Nepos’ claim of superior

¹⁰ Horsfall (2003), 69 and 81. See Ch. 6 on Publilius.

¹¹ Horsfall (2003), 66–7.

VIRTUS for the Roman people, for example (a claim in which the context suggests that the element of 'courage' was to the fore), was influenced *only* by temples and festivals to VIRTUS, or by plays put on near these temples or during these festivals, or indeed by statues (such as those of Marcellus and his ascendants) placed near them, which Nepos might have seen. It would equally be wrong, however, to suggest that they could not have been significant for him, or to claim (as McDonnell does) that the motivation behind the erection of all temples to VIRTUS was entirely dependent upon one ('native, cultic', martial) definition of that quality, unaffected by other connotations of VIRTUS. Nepos' claim about 'Romans' in his *Hannibal*, and Marcellus' claims, embodied in his temple, were not isolated from each other. They were rather once parts of a loosely interconnected whole; surviving nodes on a now-vanished web of continual exploration of 'who we are' and what makes us what we are.¹²

IMPERIAL TRANSFORMATIONS?

From the time, then, for which we have evidence for divine qualities and their resources in Rome, they played various roles in public life, in the assertion and exploration of who people were, and how they thought about themselves and others. The mobilizations of the 'great men' of the last years of Republican government were essentially a continuation, on a bigger scale, of what had gone before. This scale increased in part because Pompey and Caesar had greater control of resources of many kinds, financial and symbolic, and partly because more evidence survives from and about the period, allowing more

¹² Nepos: *Hann.* 1, with Ch. 1; Marcellus: *Asc. Pis.* 2 (44), with Ch. 5; McDonnell (1990), with Ch. 4. Further claims were very probably made by Marcellus in forms more closely mirroring that of Nepos. One such may be suspected, made for him by Naevius (and by Marcellus' son, who organized the dedication of the temples) in the *Clastidium*, discussed in Ch. 3. Ovid's decision to approach the aetiology of MENS in terms of the opposition between Rome and Carthage (*Fast.* 6.241–8, with Ch. 2) more closely parallels that of Nepos, who attributes VIRTUS (and *prudentia*) to Hannibal (*Hann.* 1), and does take as its basis a temporal resource (that of the festival day) of the divine quality.

'nodes' on the 'web' to be seen. This emphasis upon continuity is important, both intrinsically and in attempting to understand the value of divine qualities in the Principate. It would be misleading to suggest that the ways in which they were drawn upon underwent no change (qualitative or quantitative) during the three centuries encompassed by this study. There *were* differences, but they should not be understood simply in terms of an eventual, definitive appropriation by the imperial family of qualities that had often first been named *publica* or *populi Romani* and then been increasingly fought over, in the last years of the Republic, by the leading generals. The imperial appropriation of divine qualities was certainly *more* definitive than any previous attempt: almost any cult instituted to a divine quality, any divine quality featured on a coin, appears soon to have acquired the epithet, 'Augusta' or 'Augusti', and the role of divine qualities like *FORTUNA CAESARIS* and, earlier, Marius' *HONOS* and *VIRTUS* in this process was important and has rightly received much attention.¹³ Gradel is right, however, to emphasize the difference between 'A/*augusta*' and '*Augusti*'. The adjective has a vaguer, more subtle connection to the emperor than does the genitive, and permits 'several perceptions'.¹⁴ Even when the emperor's 'possession' of a divine quality was marked in its very name (*Augusti*), moreover, we need to consider just how definitive appropriation could ever be, and just how far ways of creating, and interacting with, divine qualities and their resources did change under the emperors. Some qualities were given new resonance under the emperors and were promoted at particular times and in particular reigns. If, as Dubuisson has argued, Caligula in fact *coined* the word *ἀδιατρεψία* to describe what Suetonius informs us was the aspect of his own character that Caligula himself claimed most to admire, then the young emperor sought to mark out his individuality (and to make claims about himself and his rule) by inventing a quality not previously encountered in quite this form.¹⁵ In what follows I shall focus rather on

¹³ e.g. by Weinstock (1971), who attempts to make Caesar the precursor of almost all Augustus' acts in this field. See North (1986) and Wallace-Hadrill (1981*a*), esp. on the *clupeus virtutis*, for a modified and more convincing view.

¹⁴ Gradel (2002), 103–6, quote from 105.

¹⁵ Dubuisson (1998), with bibliog. on the debate over the word's translation. Noreña (2001) highlights the importance of the choice of individual qualities for

appropriations of and interactions with the qualities already receiving cult under the Republic.

I suggest that it was the capacity to restrict or limit meanings and associations that was most important in the control wielded over resources of many kinds by powerful men and women: by Marius and Sulla, by Pompey and Caesar, and then by the emperors and other members of the imperial family. A Pompey with a whole complex of theatre, portico, house, and *horti*, could channel and direct the reader of his monument, and so of the divine qualities that were part of that monument, more effectively than could a man vowing and dedicating a temple in the third century BC. We must not forget that location, either in particular areas or in terms of proximity to other buildings, was also important in earlier years. Nor must we overlook the simple fact that more evidence survives for the later period, so that some earlier interactions will now be irretrievably lost to us. We can see that Marius, like Pompey, lived near his temple of HONOS and VIRTUS, and that Caesar had FORS FORTUNA (and perhaps other FORTUNAE PUBLICAE) in, or at least visible from, his private domain(s).¹⁶ Alternative readings, whether of the meaning of the quality, of the individual or group best associated with that quality, or both, could never be entirely suppressed in such complexes, but their evocation required much greater effort on the part of the viewer or reader. When the control of coinage was directed by (or for) the imperial house, Claudian *asses*, issued from AD 41, portrayed Claudius on the obverse and LIBERTAS on the reverse. LIBERTAS was depicted standing and holding a *pileus* in her right hand, with the legend 'LIBERTAS AUGUSTA S C' (its first appearance on imperial coinage).¹⁷ The coins are likely to constitute a response to the short-lived attempt to restore Republican government after Gaius' assassination, during which the watchword had been 'LIBERTAS'.¹⁸

different emperors, rather than of an indiscriminate group of 'virtues', underlining how such qualities continued to have more than generic value.

¹⁶ Marius: Plut. *Mar.* 32.1, with Ch. 4; Caesar: see Ch. 6.

¹⁷ BMC i, Claudius nos. 145–6 (p.185). On these and what follows, Swan (1970), 163–4.

¹⁸ Joseph. *AJ* 19.186–8; with Swan (1970), 164, Wirszubski (1950), 124 and Ch. 5 *passim*, and Wiseman (1991). Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 15.64 and 16.35, where Seneca and Thrasea Paetus die making libations to Iuppiter Liberator.

The association of LIBERTAS and the emperor, both through the legend and through the representation of divine quality and ruler on a single coin, may have been powerful enough to require Scribonianus, in the ensuing attempt to oust Claudius in AD 42, to offer his troops the prospect of a return to the Republic and with this, if Dio reports accurately, ἡ ἀρχαία ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑ ('ancient LIBERTAS' or 'former LIBERTAS'), not just 'LIBERTAS', in what Swan rightly calls 'a pointed antithesis of *libertas Augusta*'.¹⁹

Alternative readings and associations were, however, still made, both in the last century of the Republic and under the emperors. Temples that might naturally be thought of in connection with one man continued to provide opportunities for individuals other than that man or his family to make statements about themselves or the current situation. Marius' temple to HONOS and VIRTUS was itself the focus of Cicero's claim, in reference to his own recall from exile, which was voted upon there, that 'in the temple of VIRTUS, HONOS was given to VIRTUS' (*cum in templo VIRTUTIS HONOS habitus esset VIRTUTI*).²⁰ Cicero joked about the decision to place a statue of Caesar in the temple of Quirinus, saying it was preferable to placing it in the temple of SALUS. In so doing he drew not only on the association of Quirinus with Romulus, and his reputed murder by senators, but also on the Quirinal temple of SALUS, in order to express his private disapprobation of the divine quality's association with Caesar.²¹

Divine qualities continued to be important under emperors, then, because they continued to have value, not only to the emperor, but also to the senate and to other people.²² This value consisted, as it always had, in their forming *foci* around and through which people could make sense of their world, and could reflect on who they were, and now more especially around and through which they could think about and try to influence who and what their rulers were. The

¹⁹ Dio Cass. 60.15.3; Swan (1970), 164.

²⁰ Cic. *Sest.* 116, discussed in Ch. 5. Cicero would admittedly not have been adverse to the association of the temple with Marius, that other 'saviour of the Republic', being brought to mind.

²¹ Cic. *Att.* 12.45.2.

²² Wallace-Hadrill (1983), Ch. 7 has important insights for the general ideas at stake here.

opportunities for *creating* resources were more limited than before, in terms of those to whom permission to vow a temple was granted, for example, but they were not entirely restricted to the imperial house. In a well-known inscription, Nonius Datus, a retired engineer from *legio III Augusta*, who was sent back to Saldæ (Bejaïa) during the reign of Antoninus Pius to sort out a problem with an aqueduct, records the tribulations of his mugging during the journey from Lambaesis to Saldæ and how he resolved the problems in the aqueduct project, which he had initially supervised (the tunnel being dug through a mountain from both sides had failed to meet in the middle). The lengthy inscription (*ILS* 5795) honours *PATIENTIA*, *VIRTUS*, and *SPES*, each represented by inscribed name and in a female bust. Nor were increased opportunities for creating resources one-sidedly beneficial to the imperial house. Once again, the question arises of living up to those qualities that were either deliberately promoted, or conceded in response to a proposed honour, especially those that were prominently situated in the city. Just as before, every physical expression of such a quality that was brought into existence did not thereby simply ‘exist’, but formed a visible and accessible space, sometimes very deliberately so.

It is too easy casually to dismiss gestures such as the building or restoration of temples, the minting of coins, or the acceptance or refusal of honours as imperial propaganda.²³ It is tempting to see honours proposed by the senate, such as the erection in AD 29 of altars to *CLEMENTIA* and *AMICITIA*, the latter to be flanked by statues of Sejanus and Tiberius, or of a temple to *FECUNDITAS* upon the birth of Nero and Poppaea’s short-lived daughter, as the sycophantic and sterile gestures of a powerless senate. Certainly this is how Tacitus wished them to be understood.²⁴ In commenting upon such proposals in negative terms, he too, of course, drew upon the resources—even those that did not eventually materialize physically—in order to make his own claims about the senate and about public life under the emperors. An altar to *CLEMENTIA* (or to *AMICITIA*), like the shrine proposed to *CLEMENTIA CAESARIS*, would also have stood as a visible

²³ More sophisticated approaches include Wallace-Hadrill (1981*a*, 1983).

²⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 4.74; 15.23. See also Dio Cass. 58.12.4 on a proposed statue of *LIBERTAS* after Sejanus’ fall.

'reminder' of claims or promises made, or of failure to do what was expected.

The potential effectiveness of such *monumenta* in these terms is hinted at by another proposal, one vetoed by Tiberius, namely the suggestion by Germanicus' subordinate, Caecina Severus, that an altar to VLTIO (VENGEANCE) be erected, after the proceedings following Germanicus' death. The investigation of Piso's wife Plancina, leading to her acquittal through Livia's intervention, and described by Tacitus as a 'semblance of a trial' (*imago cognitionis*), especially taken together with the reported lack of consensus about Piso's motivation for suicide (or his assassination), was far from establishing uncontestable 'VENGEANCE' in the minds of Germanicus' supporters. For Tiberius to allow an altar to VLTIO to be erected would not have helped to draw a line under the whole episode, as the emperor must have wished—whatever his real feelings towards his adopted son. It would rather have created a potentially permanent space that could spark further mutterings or be physically marked or assaulted.²⁵

The spaces marked out to express and honour divine qualities were not, then, simply drawn upon in veneration of imperial qualities. An event in Nero's reign shows quite the opposite: a senator drawing on a temple to a divine quality in his bid to change the emperor. A temple of SALUS (or a temple of FORTUNA in Ferentinum) was alleged to have been the location from which Flavius Scaevinus took a dagger in order to fulfil his role in the unsuccessful plot to overthrow Nero in favour of Calpurnius Piso. Although the conflicting traditions about the location might suggest that one—or both—had been invented for its value, in oral or written accounts of the episode, rather than either necessarily having been the place from which the dagger was really taken, the contradictory versions only

²⁵ Tac. *Ann.* 3.18: *Atque idem, cum Valerius Messalinus signum aureum in aede Martis Ultoris, Caecina Severus aram ULTIONI <s> statuendam censuissent, prohibuit, ob externas ea VICTORIA<s> sacrari dictitans, domestica mala tristitia operienda* ('And likewise, when Valerius Messalinus thought that a gold statue should be set up in the temple of Mars *Ultor*, and Caecina Severus that an altar should be set up to VLTIO, [Tiberius] restrained them, emphasizing that such monuments should only be dedicated for foreign VICTORIAE: domestic woes should be shrouded in grief'); Plancina: 3.17.

underline the potential symbolic value of both suggested locations.²⁶ The *porticus Liviae*, built on the site of Vedius Pollio's house, and situated near, or (more probably) containing, a shrine to CONCORDIA, perhaps in celebration of the successful marriage of Augustus and Livia (so Ovid), is another example. Made available to the public, just as the *horti Caesaris trans Tiberim* had been, it was easily accessible to those dwelling in the Subura.²⁷ Just like Tiberius' later rededication of Opimius' temple to CONCORDIA in the Forum, however—a dedication made in his own name and that of his brother Drusus, again connoting CONCORDIA between family members—the *porticus* had to continue to be visible and publicly accessible throughout ensuing years of trouble for CONCORDIA AUGUSTA.²⁸

An episode narrated by Suetonius, moreover, suggests that an aspect of CONCORDIA other than family harmony could still be cued by the temple in the Forum, decades after its restoration by Tiberius. According to the biographer, Vitellius' first and second attempts to lay down his power were deflected by supportive cries from soldiers, and then from soldiers and people, as he spoke to the former from the palace steps and to the larger group from the *rostra*. His third

²⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 15.53: ... *qui pugionem templo SALUTIS [in Etruria] sive, ut alii tradidere, FORTUNAE Ferentino in oppido detraxerat gestabatque velut magno operi sacrum* ('... who had taken a dagger from a temple of SALUS [in Etruria] or, as others have handed down, a temple of FORTUNA in Ferentinum, and was wielding it as if it were consecrated for some great task'). Woodman (2005), 328 defends the suggestion that the temple to SALUS that had been decreed, according to *Ann.* 15.74, to celebrate the plot's discovery, in the place where Scaevinus had produced the dagger, was in Scaevinus' house. Note the words Seneca was alleged to have sent to Piso via Natalis: 'that his SALUS depended upon Piso's safety' (*Ann.* 15.60: *SALUTEM suam incolumitate Pisonis inniti*) and the message he delivered in his defence, in reply to Nero's question about that alleged message to Piso, asking 'why he would put the SALUS of a private individual before his own safety' (*Ann.* 15.61: *cur SALUTEM privati hominis incolumitati suae anteferebat*).

²⁷ Ov. *Fast.* 6.637–48; Dio Cass. 54.23.5–6, 55.8.1. Richardson (1978a), 265–70 suggests the whole *porticus* was dedicated to CONCORDIA. Boudreau Flory (1984) argues convincingly that the shrine in the *porticus* be understood as symbolizing the importance of married and family life, although her attempt to re-emphasize the 'domestic' significance in the face of the much-studied 'political concept' (e.g. n. 10) is surely an inappropriate distinction when the imperial family is the subject.

²⁸ Sejanus of course was 'tried' by the senate in the Tiberian temple in AD 31 (Dio Cass. 58.11). See Levick (1978), 224–6 and (1972) on the Tiberian temple refoundation, emphasizing the breadth of spheres to which CONCORDIA AUGUSTA could apply.

attempt involved calling a *contio*, attempting to give the dagger representing his power to the consul, and, in turn, as each declined it, to the other magistrates and senators. When they had all refused, he went ‘as if he were going to lay it [the dagger] down in the temple of CONCORDIA. But with some crying out (*adclamantibus*) that he himself was CONCORDIA, he came back and declared that he would not only keep the dagger, but even accept the *cognomen* CONCORDIA’.²⁹ Rather neglected in studies of imperial acclamations, Suetonius’ version of the episode perfectly exemplifies this type of ritual, which by its ‘very nature forced one side to define literally, through vocalized names and descriptions, the position of the other’.³⁰ It is the only surviving example of an acclamation *naming* its recipient as a divine quality: an ephemeral naming—apparently spontaneous—perpetuated by Vitellius’ taking CONCORDIA as *cognomen*.³¹ Other acclamations, however, given by various groups of people according to accounts in surviving literary texts, both assimilate emperors to gods and involve divine qualities in other ways. Stressing that he is recording the acclamations verbatim, Dio says that Nero was welcomed back to Rome in AD 68 by ‘the whole population’ (πάντων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων), especially senators, shouting in chorus and comparing the emperor to Hercules and Apollo. *Felicitur* features frequently

²⁹ Suet. *Vit.* 15: *vocata contione iuravit coegitque iurare et ceteros nihil sibi antiquius QUIETE publica fore. . . . quasi in aede CONCORDIAE positurus abscessit. sed quibusdam adclamantibus ipsum esse CONCORDIAM, rediit nec solum retinere se ferrum affirmavit verum etiam CONCORDIAE recipere cognomen*; brief discussion in Levick (1978), 226–7. Cf. Tac. *Hist.* 3.67 ff.

³⁰ Aldrete (1999), 163. Neither he, nor Klauser (1950), nor Roueché (1984) make any mention of the Suetonian passage, which is referenced without comment in Alföldi (1970), 80 n. 1. Sturz, cited in Mooney (1930), 364 at *Vit.* 15.4, draws a nice parallel with the Duke of Orléans taking the title ‘Citoyen égalité’ (‘Citizen Equality’) during the French Revolution.

³¹ It was afterwards further perpetuated by Suetonius’ very preservation of the episode, if the acclamation as CONCORDIA did in fact occur. It is possible that Suetonius, rather than the crowd, saw the value in such an acclamation. Tacitus’ version (*Hist.* 3.68), which presents in one meeting details of the two gatherings described by Suetonius and notes the presence of women at the *contio*, narrates Vitellius’ approaching the temple of CONCORDIA, names the consul offered the dagger (who would have been risking his life by his presence following the chronology of Suetonius’ narrative), and describes ‘those who were standing by in the *contio* exclaiming against (his action)’ (*reclamantibus qui in contione adstiterant*), but he neither identifies the cry nor mentions the *cognomen*.

in recorded acclamations to members of the imperial family, by the people (for Claudius under Gaius' rule), by amphitheatre audiences (for Domitian and his wife), and, in Petronius' satire, by freedmen at dinner (for Augustus—and, in praise of the arrival of a course of the meal provided by him, for Trimalchio himself). Pliny talks of the senate acclaiming Trajan (*o te felicem!*) and congratulating themselves (*o nos felices!*), while the late-fourth-century author of the *Historia Augusta* includes senatorial acclamations of Pertinax. These are of doubtful authenticity, but perhaps echo the kind of shouts heard, at least at the time of writing, and include *FIDEI praetorianorum feliciter. praetoriis cohortibus feliciter. exercitibus Romanis feliciter. PIETATI senatus feliciter. . . . VICTORIAE populi Romani feliciter. FIDEI militum feliciter. FIDEI praetorianorum feliciter. cohortibus praetoriis feliciter* ('*feliciter* [good fortune to] the praetorians' *FIDES. feliciter* the praetorian cohorts. *feliciter* the Roman armies. *feliciter* the senate's *PIETAS*. . . . *feliciter* *VICTORIA* of the Roman people. *feliciter* the soldiers' *FIDES. feliciter* the praetorians' *FIDES. feliciter* the praetorian cohorts'). Even more likely to echo the kind of cry commonly heard in the second century AD is the prelude to an incident at the circus in AD 196, again recorded by the eyewitness Dio, when a war-weary populace used its ability to adapt the rhythmic chants of acclamations to express particular views, in order to call for an end to the war and so their suffering. The opening shout, before the particular cries for an end to the war, was, in Dio's rendering, *εὐτυχίαν τῇ τοῦ δήμου σωτηρίᾳ* (= '*feliciter* *SALUTI POPULI ROMANI?*').³²

Such cries were an extremely important form of interaction between people and emperor, whether at the games or during the ruler's movement through the streets on other, ceremonial occasions. Once again, the shared enunciation of words from the broader cognitive vocabulary of divine qualities plays an important role in what was a form of attempted influence over the emperor. This in some ways resembled senatorial panegyrics, but was perhaps more effective than these, given the involvement in acclamations of large numbers of

³² Dio 62.20.5; *feliciter*: Suet. *Claud.* 7, *Dom.* 13, Petron. *Sat.* 60 and 50, Plin. *Pan.* 74; *SHA Comm.* 18.8–11, with Baldwin (1981), 140–1 on the problems; AD 196: Dio Cass. 75.4.4.

people and very public settings.³³ In another Suetonian episode, one that occurred far from the games, Augustus, sailing by the gulf of Puteoli near the end of his life, happened upon a ship from Alexandria that had just put in there. Passengers and sailors, already dressed to perform a religious rite, addressed him in theological terms, praising him, and claiming that 'through him' (*per illum*) they lived, sailed, and enjoyed *LIBERTAS* and *FORTUNAE*. They positioned themselves and him in relation to such divine qualities, and affirmed his provision of the divine qualities for them, and hence his ultimate control over them. They were rewarded—not personally, as individuals, but as part of a broader community—when Augustus gave his companions 40 *aurei* each, with the stipulation they be spent only on goods from Alexandria.³⁴

Acclamations of the emperor developed out of the kind of shouts that greeted leading men in the Republic (as *imperator* on the field, and in the kinds of reactions we have seen in the theatre). Although a lead may often have been given, by individuals, groups, or *cliques*, there was no way of obliging the rest of the crowd to join in. Taken together with the ability noted above to adapt the rhythmic sequences to convey particular messages, this suggests that the cries could be a genuine expression of opinion.³⁵ If Suetonius' account of the events during the episode of Vitellius' attempted abdication is accurate or representative, a *contio* partly (but not wholly) composed of senators could acclaim the emperor in terms of the divine quality 'housed' in an adjacent temple, just as orators made good use of nearby monuments when addressing *contiones*, and may have chosen the location for some orations partly because of the proximity of certain *monumenta*, tying those monuments and the stories they cued into public dialogue. Divine qualities had an important role, then, in the

³³ A suggestion made by Aldrete (1999), 156. The receptivity would no doubt have varied to an extent according to the particular emperor in power, and his concerns. Plin. *Pan.* 26 describes parents teaching their children acclamations during the distribution of *congiaria*.

³⁴ Suet. *Aug.* 98.2.

³⁵ Cameron (1976), 230–49 discusses Roman *cliques*, which are attested as early as the second century BC in the prologues (Plautus' or later) of the *Amphitruo* and *Poenulus*. Genuine expression: Roueché (1984), 183–4; Morstein-Marx (2004), 135 notes the 'powerful social instinct' to join in applause once begun, but agrees that even *cliqueurs* cannot force an audience to applaud.

vocabulary of two-way exchanges between emperors and others. Even if adapted by Suetonius, the Vitellian episode constitutes a neat microcosm of such exchanges. They must also have been carried on over a larger timescale, through acclamations at entertainments and on other public occasions, which in part responded to, but may also have had some impact upon, coin legends, for example. Divine qualities were not simply 'received' by those the emperor ruled. They were rather communicative elements enabling exchanges between rulers and ruled.³⁶ The earliest attested acclamations, in the Near East, were shouted in honour of a deity by its worshippers, or formed part of ritual ceremonies (like *talassio!* and *triumphe!* in early Rome).³⁷ This may further help our understanding of the effectiveness of the tone brought by the cognitive vocabulary of divine qualities to these exchanges, to this ongoing, symbolic 'conversation' between emperor and people. It may explain further how they continued to be useful in ways that ideas of 'propaganda' fail adequately to convey.

Written versions of *feliciter* are prominent among surviving painted and inscribed posters, notices, and graffiti from Pompeii, suggesting something both of the resonance and of the frequent use of the term, not only in the relationship between an emperor and his subjects, which is most prominent in historiography, but also in a range of more local contexts (as already implied by the episodes from the *cena Trimalchionis*) and on a variety of scales. Those that survive

³⁶ Acclamations like those inscribed verbatim—preserving the oral tone—upon an Aphrodisian portico in (probably) the sixth century AD, which have been examined in detail by Roueché (1984), were very probably those chanted at the building's dedication or inauguration ceremony and fixed in permanent form on the very monuments at whose dedication they had been enunciated. The Aphrodisian series includes one declaring that 'envy does not banish TYCHE' (ὁ φθόνος ΤΥΧΗΝ οὐ νικᾷ), TYCHE being identified by Roueché as that of the building's dedicator and also as connected to the building itself. The acclamation was accompanied by the depiction of a small, female figure tentatively identified as TYCHE. Another was a request for the admission of the building's founder to the Roman senate. Roueché suggests that such acclamations would be expected to come to the emperor's attention, most likely as part of a dossier sent to support the man's request. Centuries later than most of the acclamations considered here, conceptually linked to and physically written into the material fabric of a monument and city, and important in local terms, these acclamations may also have formed part of a 'long-distance' dialogue with the emperor.

³⁷ Roueché (1984), 181 ff.

do acclaim emperors and imperial judgements, but they also hail individuals and communities, Pompeians and others. The vast majority are connected with the games, but the term also appears in other contexts, such as an apparent self-acclamation in a notice about successful bread-making: PANE(M)/ FECI FE(LICITER?) ('I have baked bread *feliciter* (?)').³⁸

A happy *alea* player records success in a different occupation in another Pompeian graffito, seeking to give credibility to (and/or giving BONA FIDES credit for) his declared winnings: 'I won, playing *alea* at Nuceria, 855½ denarii, by/through BONA FIDES' (VICI NUCERIAE/INALIA [= IN ALEA] DCCCLVS/ FIDE BONA). Some surviving gaming boards have inscribed upon them a variety of *sententiae*, including acclamations, certainly in later centuries, and possibly earlier. Such boards, found especially frequently in the city of Rome (or at least published most frequently from there), also bring us to the milieu of 'ordinary' people. Other examples of the vocabulary of divine qualities are found on them or associated with them. A board found in the neighbourhood of Rome, for example, reads: VIRTUS IMPERI[I] HOSTES VINCTI LUDANT ROMANI ('VIRTUS of the empire! The enemy are bound in chains; Romans play'). Many of the preserved word-sequences are closely linked with *spectacula*, especially those at the circus, and they often again include *feliciter* or some variant thereon (INVIDA PUNCT[A] IUBENT FELICE LUDERE DOCTUM, for instance—'the envious dots [on the dice or board] compel the skilled player to play *felice*').³⁹ The overlap with the kind of *sententiae* that we attributed with some caution to Publius Syrus seems to strengthen the possibility that (some of) the latter were indeed known to the plebs. *Feliciter* appears not only as a word, sometimes together with a palm-frond, in such games, but also, at least in later centuries, on monuments and *instrumenta domestica*, as part of the monogram (PF), plausibly to be interpreted as representing *palma feliciter* and connoting VICTORIA. A different sign is found (£) at the end of additions to another notice on the house of Trebius Valens in Pompeii, about a fight by gladiators owned by Gnaeus Alleius Nigidius

³⁸ CIL IV 8973 (IX.xiv?), although the reading is not certain; cf. CIL IV 1454. The surviving acclamations are discussed in detail in App. 5.

³⁹ CIL IV 2119; CIL XIII 3865; CIL VIII 7998 from Numidia, in Purcell (1995b), 21, 25–6, and 23.

Maius. It may also represent *feliciter*.⁴⁰ Here again, elements from the vocabulary under investigation clearly had value, in another context, in another area of life linked to entertainment and known to be very relevant to 'ordinary' people. They were conveyed through words, symbols, and attributes, in a manner not unlike the various depictions of divine qualities on coins considered in Chapter 4.

Ships are another resource bearing the name of divine qualities (and other deities) for which evidence survives from the imperial period, especially from ships belonging to the navy, which are attested with names like CLEMENTIA, CONCORDIA, FIDES, FORTUNA, IVSTITIA, LIBERTAS, PAX, PIETAS, PROVIDENTIA, SALUS, SPES, and VIRTUS.⁴¹ As well as seeking divine support for their voyages and proclaiming 'imperial virtues' (of the empire as well as the emperor), this set up a particular set of relationships between imperial sailors and the qualities with which they sailed. Although the names were not chosen by the sailors, and although we cannot probe far into the nature of those relationships, the very form in which we most often learn about them is from sailors who chose to include the name of their ship on their tombstones. The choice to mark the name in sepulchral epigraphy—to make it part of the set of words and images through which an individual chose to be presented to posterity, or their heir chose to represent them—was itself one form of interaction with the quality. It suggests that some sailors at least were not unaffected by name choice. We might also wish to see the voyages made by these ships as tracing out paths, and carrying divine qualities around the empire. The auspicious nature of ships' names locks in with other resources already explored, especially colony-names and passwords, and also acclamations. It suggests further ways in which the vocabulary of divine qualities formed part of the lives of 'ordinary' people, not only through the name of a ship on which a sailor was told to serve, for example, but on occasion because of an association made through the person's own name. The carefully chosen participants in the re-inauguration of the Capitoline temple

⁴⁰ Bruzza (1877) on the later monogram; *CIL* IV 7991 for the earlier, from III.ii.1.

⁴¹ e.g. *CIL* X 3636, in which the heir chose to describe himself, as well as the deceased, in these terms (he served on the FORTUNA, the deceased on the PROVIDENTIA). See Casson (1971), 348–60; Miltner in *RE* 5 suppl. (1931), 946–56.

of Iuppiter in AD 70, for example, included not only Vestal Virgins and attendants with two living parents, but soldiers with 'auspicious names' (*fausta nomina*), probably to be understood as 'Salvius', 'Faustus', 'Felix', 'Victor', and 'Valens'. Cicero tells us such an action was common in ceremonies including those accompanying the foundation of colonies, as well as the *lustrum* for the census, for example: the victims were to be led by those *bonis nominibus*. The first soldier to be enrolled by consuls when levying troops, both at home and in the field, was chosen in the same way.⁴² Here again, as with acclamations and passwords and so many of the examples explored so far, we find situations in which the enunciation of the name was the crucial element. Such names were sometimes connected to resources already considered: public freedmen from the probably triumviral *colonia* CONCORDIA Brixillum (Brescia), for example, took the *nomen* Concordius. Slaves, who could be renamed at will while enslaved, often bore names like Felix, Felicula, Faustus, Fausta, Fortunatus, or Fortunata, as well as Greek equivalents like Eutychides.⁴³ The very action of renaming marked them as their master's property, so such choices effectively illustrated the desire of the master to turn them into a resource in the sense in which we have been using this term, as well as a productive resource in the broader sense of the word.

In the imperial period it was not uncommon for private individuals and members of the ruling house to be assimilated to divine qualities, not through acclamatory cries of the kind ascribed by Suetonius to the *contio* around Vitellius, or the imposition of a 'lucky' name, desired or not, but through physical resources, like coin images (these being confined to the ruling house) and statuary.⁴⁴ One interesting example is the assimilation of Livia to IVSTITIA, earlier described by Cicero as

⁴² Tac. *Hist.* 4.53, although Chilver (1985) points out that there appears to be no authority for Heraeus' list (Salvius, Statorius, Victor, Valens). See also Ash (1999), 142. Cic. *Div.* 1.102 (see also Pliny *HN* 28.22 on *nomina prospera* of those leading victims in purification ceremonies). None of these authors give examples.

⁴³ Brescia: AE 1933, no. 154, with Susini (1971). See Varro *Ling.* 8.21, P. Turner 22, and Suet. *Gramm.* 18.1 on renaming; on *cognomina* and slave-names more broadly, see e.g. Kajanto (1965), Solin (1996).

⁴⁴ Mikocki (1995) has a full survey for imperial women, but draws an overly precise distinction between assimilations to PIETAS and allegorical scenes on coins featuring e.g. Matidia and daughters with the legend PIETAS AUGUST(AE) as illustrating this virtue of the empress, rather than presenting the empress as PIETAS (p. 55); Wrede

'mistress and queen of virtues' (*omnium... domina et regina virtutum*).⁴⁵ IVSTITIA was one of the four qualities on the golden *clupeus* presented to Augustus in 27 or 26 BC, and a statue of IVSTITIA AVGVSTA was dedicated on 8 January AD 13, constituting our first evidence of cult. Although the appearance and location of this statue are unattested, it has been suggested that the statue head, by analogy with that on *dupondii* issued by Tiberius in AD 22–3, had Livia's features (the basic prototype for statues of IVSTITIA being that of Hera of Argos). It has further been suggested that it might have been the earlier of the two statues of which fragments (foot and arm) were found in the *Aula del Colosso* in the Forum of Augustus.⁴⁶ This can only be a hypothesis, and given the risks of circular argument it is dangerous to push it too far, but if this *were* the case it would constitute another example of the placing of a consecrated statue within firmly controlled parameters. Considering its size, the statue would have been a highly visible assimilation of Livia and IVSTITIA, especially visible from the portico onto which the *aula* gives, which was created for the business of the courts. It would also, moreover, have been situated within the complex created by Augustus for important ceremonies and meetings connected to military policy.

Most of the surviving examples of such assimilation involve the imperial family directly, but others too found value in it. One further instance, before we bring this study to a close, will allow us to see divine qualities utilized by a family group less prominent in history. Found at the end of the eighteenth century beside the *via Appia* near San Sebastiano, the tomb of Claudia Semne probably originally greeted its visitor with the following inscription, discovered just outside the tomb:⁴⁷

(1981) considers private assimilation; further discussion in Picard (1939); Lichocka (1974) on IUSTITIA; also Matheson (1996), and D'Ambra (2000), esp. 101–2.

⁴⁵ Cic. *Off.* 3.28.

⁴⁶ *Clupeus*: RG 34.2, Lacey (1974), 181–2 for date; statue: *Fasti Praen.* (*CIL* I² p. 231 and 306: 'SIGNUM IUSTITIAE AVGVST[*tae* dedicatum Planco] ET SILIO COS'); BMC 131, nos. 79–80; Livia: Mikocki (1995), 25–6; *aula*: Lichocka (1974), 77–8.

⁴⁷ For full details of the excavation report, and a reconstruction, see Wrede (1971), to which what follows is heavily indebted, and now Bignamini and Claridge (1998); entrance inscription: *CIL* VI 15593 = *ILS* 8063c; altar inscription: *CIL* VI 15594 = *ILS* 8063b.

CLAUDIAE SEMNE UXORI ET / M(ARCO) ULPIO CROTONENSI FIL(IO), / CROTONENSIS AUG(USTI) LIB(ERTUS) FECIT. / HUIC MONUMENTO CEDET / HORTUS IN QUO TRICL(IN?)IAE, / VINIOLA, PUTEUM, AEDICULAE / IN QUIBUS SIMULACRA CLAUDIAE / SEMNES IN FORMAM DEORUM ITA UTI / CUM MACERIA A ME CIRCUM STRUCTA EST. / H(OC) M(ONUMENTUM) H(EREDEM) N(ON) S(EQUETUR).

(M. Ulpius) Crotonensis, freedman of the emperor, made this for his wife Claudia Semne and his son M. Ulpius Crotonensis. To this monument belongs the garden in which are couches(?), a vineyard, a fountain/well, and *aediculae* in which are statues of Claudia Semne in the form of deities, which garden I have surrounded by a wall. This monument is not to be used by my heirs.

The deities in whose 'form' Claudia Semne was presented in the *aediculae* in the tomb's garden were identified on the frontispiece of the gable-niches from the three *aediculae* and on the inscription repeated on the front and back of a marble altar that probably stood in the middle of the mausoleum: FORTUNAE / SPEI VENERI / ET MEMORIAE / CLAUD(IAE) SEMNES / SACRUM ('sacred to FORTUNA, SPES, Venus, and the memory of Claudia Semne', or 'sacred to (the) FORTUNA, SPES, VENUS, and MEMORIA of Claudia Semne?'). Only one of the statues of Claudia, that as SPES, was found at the time of the excavation: it was 0.94 m high, and represented her standing, holding a fold of her garment in her left hand, and a flower in her right, with a portrait head of Claudia. Now lost, it must have looked something like a statue of SPES with Trajanic portrait head from the Villa Borghese, once erroneously identified as the missing statue, just as, also in Wrede's view, that as FORTUNA must have resembled that of Claudia Iusta in the *Palazzo dei Conservatori*.⁴⁸

What of the other deities or qualities mentioned on the inscription? Uhden, who saw the finds, mentioned a female statue head with helmet found in the mausoleum, which, 'although damaged in the nose, shows Claudia's features unmistakably'; he claimed it belonged 'to a portrait of the deceased in the form of Minerva'. Wrede considers this interpretation 'at least doubtful', since the tomb and altar inscriptions report no further deifications of Claudia. Another glance

⁴⁸ Wrede (1971), pl. 85. The Borghese statue cannot be the missing statue, which may have been taken to Portugal in the eighteenth century, since it has a different hairstyle from the surviving representations of Claudia from the complex, and is too tall.

at the inscription on the altar, however, reveals the latter to be 'FORTUNAE, SPEI, VENERI ET MEMORIAE CLAUD. SEMNES SACRUM'. Wrede sees 'ET MEMORIAE' as a 'distancing' insertion, indicating that the deceased woman appeared in the shrine statues as FORTUNA, SPES, and VENUS, but was not fully equated with these goddesses. The altar dedication was, on his reading, to the three goddesses and to the memory of Claudia Semne, who was associated, but not mixed, with the deities. Claudia, on this interpretation, becomes her husband's SPES, his FORTUNA, and Venus (for her beauty). Yet Claudia, despite what Picard, too, terms 'some timidity' in the wording of the inscription, did appear as SPES, FORTUNA, and Venus in the statues. Comparison with other examples suggests that the line between association and assimilation is less clear than some scholars believe.⁴⁹ Is it possible that, once again, excessive attention to 'capitalization' (to use this as shorthand) has obscured the possibility that the fourth head mentioned by Uhden may have been, not Minerva, but rather MEMORIA? It is unclear to me why, if this were the case, MEMORIA should wear a helmet. Even Axtell, however, in laying out the evidence on both sides of the debate about whether MEMORIA was the recipient of public or private cult, and erring on the side of caution in his own conclusions, notes this inscription, along with *CIL* VI 10958 ('DEANAE ET MEMORIAE AELIAE PROCULAE'), as an illustration of what he terms the 'closeness with which the quality memoria approaches the deity Memoria'.⁵⁰

Claudia Semne, then, was represented as FORTUNA, SPES, and as VENUS—a deity which, as we saw in the introduction, was conceptual, as well as being associated with Aphrodite. MEMORIA appears to be situated at another highly permeable boundary around the cluster of divine qualities. The model for Claudia's presentation, shown to be far from unique by the statues in Roman museum collections mentioned above, is almost certain to have been that of empresses,

⁴⁹ Uhden (1807: details in Wrede (1971), 125 n. 5), quoted in Wrede (1971), 137. Picard (1939), 125; comparison with other examples in Lattimore (1942), 100–16, esp. on Pomptilla, and Axtell (1987/1907), 53–4. The conceptual nature of Venus is discussed in Ch. 1.

⁵⁰ Axtell (1987/1907) 54: evidence in favour includes Arn. *Adv. nat.* 4.2, who includes it in a list otherwise made up of VIRTUS, SALUS, HONOS, VICTORIA, CONCORDIA, PIETAS, and FELICITAS, and *CIL* VI 23057, 17398, III 7436, XI 1097.

but this does not detract from the fact that the tomb complex is an example, in yet another kind of—sepulchral—context, of the continuing value of a number of divine qualities in helping people to conceptualize and make sense of their world. The individual here is a man of status, from a new kind of élite, but he is not a member of the imperial family.⁵¹

Rather than investigate a group of Roman deities as part of a study of ‘Roman religion’, I have sought in this book—whose focus is a cluster of deities in many ways loosely connected and open-ended, whose names situate them in an overlapping area between religion and general discourse—to abandon entirely misperceptions of these deities as ‘abstract’, and hence somehow less ‘real’ than other gods, and so to explore something of what the now generally acknowledged and inextricable intertwining or fusion between ‘religion’, ‘politics’, and ‘culture’ in Roman society meant in practice.⁵² I have taken divine qualities as a focus, because of their particular nature, in order to shine a stronger light upon some of the many social processes that constituted that society. Rather than accept that the very existence of temples and cults to these deities suffices to allow us to think of them as ‘Roman’ and hence as helpful for our understanding of Roman cultural identity, I have explored the ways in which the existence of each cult and of the resources generated by it served as springboards for the claims, counterclaims, appropriations, and explorations that, together with the initial cult foundation, made the divine quality ‘Roman’ and part of that identity. Treating divine qualities as a kind of cognitive vocabulary, we can see how elements of that vocabulary were mediated through a very complex set of oral, visual, and written symbols and attributes. They were found in contexts ranging from consular speeches to graffiti, from festivals to passwords, from plays and shows to prodigies, from coins to *horti*, from temples to tombs, from aristocratic competition to plebeian struggles for recognition, from board-games to brothels, and from Rome to colonies and battle-fields. They were thus important to a broader social spectrum, from

⁵¹ See Matheson (1996) and esp. D’Ambra (2000), 101–2 on the serious nature of the representation.

⁵² Thériault (1996*b*), 184–6 does not go quite far enough.

emperors to slaves, than has often been recognized. This resonant language was far from being spoken only by élites: its lexicon was used by, familiar to, and could make meaning for people from a much broader range of social strata. Only through awareness of this range, and by examining smaller-scale engagements with divine qualities, ways of using them to order and challenge perceptions of the world, can we put together as full a picture as is now possible of this aspect of 'Roman-ness', created as it was lived. The focus in this book has been only a small number of elements of public religion. The boundaries are highly fluid, however, between these divine qualities and gods like Venus, Iuno, and Iuppiter Stator, other gods (like Ossipagina) whose names convey their very precise functions, and other qualities, which could in various ways take on some exegetical resonance because of the existence of divine qualities. This suggests that understanding the discourse of qualities is of wider relevance, and has more to reveal about ways of thinking and acting that came to be, and came to be thought of as, 'Roman'.

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APPENDIX 1

Republican Temples and Shrines to Divine Qualities

Dates are given in the pre-Julian calendar, following Scullard (1981).

(A) **CONCORDIA**

(?) 367 BC: Founder (?) Camillus, in dispute over Licinian-Sextian laws.

121 BC: Founder L. Opimius, after Gaius Gracchus' murder. Dies natalis: XI KAL. SEPT. (22 July).

(B) **SALUS**

311–302 BC: Founder C. Iunius Bubulcus Brutus, vowed in battle against Samnites. Dies natalis: NON. SEPT. (5 August).

(C) **VICTORIA**

305?– 294 BC: Founder L. Postumius Megellus, in Second Samnite War. Dies natalis: KAL. SEPT. (1 August).

(D) **CONCORDIA**

304 BC: Founder Cn. Flavius, on reconciliation of the *ordines*.

(E) **FORS FORTUNA**

293 BC: Founder Sp. Carvilius Maximus, for victory over Samnites and Etruscans. Dies natalis: VII KAL. QUINCT. (24 June).

(F) **FIDES**

254 BC (?): Founder A. Atilius Calatinus, during Sicilian campaigns? Dies natalis: KAL. OCT. (1 October).

115 BC (?): (Re)founder M. Aemilius Scaurus.

(G) SPES

Mid-third-century BC: Founder A. Atilius Calatinus/Caiatinus, during Sicilian campaigns? Dies natalis: KAL. SEXT. (1 August).

(Gi) SPES VETUS

Previously existing temple/shrine/cult place.

(H) OPS (OPIFERA) (see App. 4)

250 BC (?): Founder L. Caecilius Metellus? Vow at Panormos? Dies natalis: VIII KAL. SEPT. (23 August).

(I) (Iuppiter) LIBERTAS

246–238 BC: Founder Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, in First Punic War. Dies natalis: ID. APR. (13 April).

(J) HONOS

Third century BC? On site of previous altar?

(K) HONOS (and VIRTUS)

233 BC: Founder Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus, during Ligurian War. Dies natalis: XVI KAL. SEXT. (17 July).

222 BC: Founder M. Claudius Marcellus, vowed at Clastidium.

(L) CONCORDIA

217 BC: Founder L. Manlius Vulso, on military sedition in Cisalpine Gaul. Dies natalis: NON. FEB. (5 February).

(M) MENS

217–215 BC: Founder T. Otacilius Crassus, with Venus Erycina after Lake Trasimene defeat.

115 BC (?): (Re)founder M. Aemilius Scaurus. Dies natalis: VI ID. IUN. (8 June).

(N) VICTORIA VIRGO

193 bc: Founder M. Porcius Cato, during Spanish campaign. Dies natalis: KAL. SEXT. (1 August).

(O) PIETAS

191–181 bc: Founder M' Acilius Glabrio, for victory over Antiochus at Thermopylae. Dies natalis: ID. NOV.? (13 November) or KAL. DEC.? (1 December).

(P) FORTUNA EQUESTRIS

180–173 bc: Founder Q. Fulvius Flaccus, in battle against Celtiberians. Dies natalis: ID. SEXT. (13 August).

(Q) FELICITAS

151–146 bc: L. Licinius Lucullus, during Spanish campaign. Dies natalis: ID. SEXT. (13 August).

(R) HONOS and VIRTUS

102–101 bc: Founder C. Marius, for victory over Cimbri.

(S) FORTUNA HUIUSCE DIEI

101 bc (vow): Founder Q. Lutatius Catulus, during battle in Gaul. Dies natalis: III KAL. SEXT. (30 July).

(T) FELICITAS, HONOS, VIRTUS, and v(ICTORIA?)

61–55 bc: Founder Cn. Pompeius Magnus, in his theatre. Dies natalis: PR. ID. SEXT. (12 August).

(U) LIBERTAS

58 bc: Founder Clodius, on Cicero's exile.

(V) FELICITAS

45 BC: Founder M. Aemilius Lepidus, on the site of Curia Hostilia.

(W)–(Y) TRES FORTUNAE

(W) FORTUNA PUBLICA POPULI ROMANI QUIRITUM

Mid-third-century BC: Founder P. Sempronius Sophos/Q. Lutatius Cerco?
Dies natalis: VIII KAL. IUN. (25 May).

(X) FORTUNA PRIMIGENIA

c.204–194 BC: Founder Sempronius Tuditanus. Dies natalis: ID. NOV.¹
(13 November).

(Y) FORTUNA PUBLICA CITERIOR

?? Dies natalis: NON. APR. (5 April).

¹ Following Ziolkowski (1992), 40–5.

APPENDIX 2

Prodigies involving temples, groves, statues, and representations of deities under the Republic (to 38 BC)

Year (BC)	Deity	In Rome?	Source(s)
296	VICTORIA	Yes	Zon. 8.1.3
	Iuppiter	Yes	Zon. 8.1.3
278	Iuppiter	Yes	Livy <i>Per.</i> 14; Cic. <i>Div.</i> 1.16
	Summanus	Yes	Cic. <i>Div.</i> 1.16
275–269	SALUS	Yes	Oros. 4.4.1
228	Apollo	Yes	Dio 12 frg. 50
218	SPES	Yes	Livy 21.62
	Iuno	No	Livy 21.62
217	Mars	Yes	Livy 22.1.12
	Mars	No	Plut. <i>Fab.</i> 2
	Iuppiter Stator	Yes	Cic. <i>Div.</i> 1.77
215	Iuno Sospita	No	Livy 23.31.15
214	Iuno Sospita	No	Livy 24.10.6–13
	Vulcan	Yes	Livy 24.10.6–13
	Vacuna	Yes	Livy 24.10.6–13
	Mars	No	Livy 24.10.6–13
213	Iuppiter	No	Livy 24.44.7–9
	Iuppiter	No	Livy 24.44.7–9
211	CONCORDIA	Yes	Livy 26.23.4–6
	VICTORIA	Yes	Livy 26.23.4–6
210	Iuppiter	No	Livy 27.4.11–15
	Diana	No	Livy 27.4.11–15
	Feronia	No	Livy 27.4.11–15
209	Iuppiter	No	Livy 27.11.1–6
	FORTUNA	No	Livy 27.11.1–6
	FORS FORTUNA	Yes	Livy 27.11.1–6
208	FORTUNA	No	Livy 27.23.1–4
	Mars	No	Livy 27.23.1–4
	Iuppiter	No	Livy 27.23.1–4
	Iuppiter	No	Livy 27.23.1–4
207	Iuppiter	No	Livy 27.37.2
	Marica	No	Livy 27.37.2
	Iuno Regina	Yes	Livy 27.37.7
206	Iuppiter	No	Livy 28.11.1–7
	Mater Matuta	No	Livy 28.11.1–7

(Continued)

Appendix 2 (*Continued*)

Year (BC)	Deity	In Rome?	Source(s)
	SALUS	Yes	Livy 28.11.1–7
	Ceres	Yes	Livy 28.11.1–7
	Quirinus	Yes	Livy 28.11.1–7
	Vesta	Yes	Livy 28.11.1–7
	Neptune	Yes	Livy 28.11.1–7; Dio 17.60
	Iuppiter	No/Yes	Livy 28.11.1–7; Dio 17.60
204	Iuno Sospita	No	Livy 29.14.3
200	Iuno Sospita	No	Livy 31.12.6
199	Iuppiter	No	Livy 32.1.10
	Iuppiter	No	Livy 32.1.10
	Apollo	No	Livy 32.1.10
	Sancus	No	Livy 32.1.10
	Hercules	No (?)	Livy 32.1.10
198	Iuppiter	No	Livy 32.9.2
	Hercules	No	Livy 32.9.2
197	Vulcan	Yes	Livy 32.29.1–2
	Summanus	Yes	Livy 32.29.1–2
196	Feronia	No	Livy 33.26.6–8
	MONETA	Yes	Livy 33.26.6–8
194	Vulcan	Yes	Livy 34.45.7
193	Mars	No	Livy 35.9.4
191	Iuppiter	No	Livy 36.37.3
190	Iuno Lucina	Yes	Livy 37.3.2; Obseq. 1
186	ops	Yes	Livy 39.22.4
	Iuppiter	Yes	Obseq. 3
183	Vulcan	Yes	Obseq. 4; Livy 39.46.5
	CONCORDIA	Yes	Obseq. 4; Livy 39.56.6
182	Luna	Yes	Livy 40.2.2–4
	Ceres	Yes	Livy 40.2.2–4
	Apollo	No	Livy 40.2.2–4; Obseq. 5
181	Iuno Sospita	No	Livy 40.19.2; Obseq. 6
	Mars	Yes	Obseq. 6
179	Iuppiter	No	Livy 40.45.3
	Iuppiter	Yes	Livy 40.59.7–8; Obseq. 7
178	Vesta	Yes	Livy <i>Per.</i> 41
	Venus	Yes	Livy <i>Per.</i> 41; Obseq. 8
177	Mars	No	Livy 41.9.5
176	SALUS	Yes	Livy 41.15.4
	Apollo	No	Livy 41.16.6
174	Saturn	Yes	Livy 41.21.12
169	Apollo	No	Livy 43.13.4–5
	FORTUNA	Yes	Livy 43.13.4–5
	FORTUNA PRIMIGENIA (× 2)	Yes	Livy 43.13.4–5
169/8	Iuppiter	Yes	Pliny <i>HN</i> 17.244
167	Penates	Yes	Livy 45.16.5–6
166	Minerva	No	Obseq. 12
	Libitina	No	Obseq. 12
	Iuppiter	Yes	Obseq. 12
	SALUS	Yes	Obseq. 12

165	Penates	Yes	Obseq. 13
163	VICTORIA	Yes	Obseq. 14
156	Iuppiter	Yes	Obseq. 16
	Iuno Regina	Yes	Obseq. 16
	FORTUNA	Yes	Obseq. 16
154	Iuppiter	Yes	Pliny <i>HN</i> 17. 244
152	Iuppiter	Yes	Obseq. 18
148	ops	Yes	Livy <i>Per.</i> 50
134	Iuno Regina	Yes	Obseq. 27
133	Iuno Regina	Yes	Obseq. 27a
130	Apollo	Yes	Obseq. 28; Dio 24 frg. 84.2
129	Minerva	Yes	Obseq. 28a
117	Mars	Yes	Obseq. 36
115	Iuno	Yes	Pliny <i>HN</i> 2.144
113	SALUS	Yes	Obseq. 38
111	Magna Mater	Yes	Obseq. 39
106	Lares	Yes	Obseq. 41
105	Mars	No	Obseq. 42
104/3	SALUS	Yes	Obseq. 43
	Iuno	No	Pliny <i>HN</i> 16.132
102	Mars	Yes	Obseq. 44
	Iuppiter	Yes	Obseq. 44
99	Iuno Sospita	No	Obseq. 46
	Mars	Yes	Gell. <i>NA</i> 4.6.1–2
98	Mars	Yes	Obseq. 47
97	Iuppiter	No	Obseq. 48
96	Iuppiter	Yes	Obseq. 49
95	Mars	Yes	Obseq. 50
93	Neptune	No	Obseq. 52
	Mercury	No	Obseq. 52
	Apollo	Yes	Obseq. 52
92	FORTUNA EQUESTRIS	Yes	Obseq. 53
91	Apollo	No	Obseq. 54; Cic. <i>Div.</i> 1.98
	PIETAS	Yes	Obseq. 54; Cic. <i>Div.</i> 1.98
90/89	Iuno Sospita	No	Obseq. 55; Cic. <i>Div.</i> 1.99
88	Bellona	Yes	Plut. <i>Sulla</i> 7.6
86	Minerva	No	Obseq. 56b
84	Luna	Yes	App. <i>B Civ.</i> 1.78
	Ceres	Yes	App. <i>B Civ.</i> 1.78
83	Iuppiter	Yes	App. <i>B Civ.</i> 1.83
65	Iuppiter	Yes	Obseq. 61; Dio 37.9.2
56	Iuppiter	No	Dio 39.15–16
	Iuno	No	Dio 39.20.2
53	Mars	Yes	Obseq. 63
48	VICTORIA	No	Obseq. 65a; Plut. <i>Caes.</i> 47; Caesar <i>B Civ.</i> 3.105.6
	VICTORIA	No	Caesar <i>B Civ.</i> 3.105.4
	Minerva	No	Caesar <i>B Civ.</i> 3.105.4
47	FORTUNA PUBLICA	Yes	Dio 42.26.2–5
	FORTUNA	Yes	Dio 42.26.2–5
	FORTUNA RESPICIENS	Yes	Dio 42.26.2–5
	Hercules	Yes	Dio 42.26.2–5

Appendix 2 (*Continued*)

Year (BC)	Deity	In Rome?	Source(s)
	Bellona	Yes	Dio 42.26.2–5
46	FELICITAS	Yes	Dio 43.21.1
44/3	OPS	Yes	Obseq. 68
	Venus	Yes	Obseq. 68; Dio 45.7.1
	Castor	Yes	Obseq. 68; Dio 45.17.2–8
	FIDES	Yes	Obseq. 68; Dio 45.17.2–8
	Minerva	Yes	Obseq. 68; Dio 45.17.2–8
	Saturn	Yes	Dio 45.17.2–8
	Iuppiter	Yes	Dio 45.17.2–8
	VICTORIA	Yes	Dio 45.17.2–8
	Vesta	Yes	Dio 45.17.2–8
	Magna Mater	Yes	Dio 46.33.3–4
	Minerva	No	Dio 46.33.3–4
42	VICTORIA	No	Obseq. 70
	Iuppiter	No	Obseq. 70; Dio 47.40.2–8
	VICTORIA	No	Obseq. 70; Dio 47.40.2–8
	Iuppiter	Yes	Dio 47.40.2–8
	Ceres	Yes	Dio 47.40.2–8
	Minerva	Yes	Dio 47.40.2–8
38	VIRTUS	Yes	Dio 48.43.4–6
Undated	VICTORIA	No	Cic. <i>Div.</i> 1.98
	Castor and Pollux	No	Cic. <i>Div.</i> 1.98

Note: Of the 158 temples, groves, altars, statues, or representations of deities involved in prodigies reported, recorded, and surviving from the Republican period 37 (23 per cent) are those of divine qualities.

Of the 97 from Rome, 30 (31 per cent) are those of divine qualities.

APPENDIX 3

Republican Coins Featuring Divine Qualities and their Attributes¹

CLEMENTIA

1. *RRC* 480/21; Syd. 1076 (44 BC: Rome), P. Sepullius Macer (denarius)
Obv. Tetrastyle temple with globe in pediment; around, CLEMENTIAE CAESARIS (5 obv. dies).
Rev. *Desultor* r., holding reins in l. hand and whip in r. hand; behind, palm-branch and wreath; above, P· SEPVLIVS; below MACER (6 rev. dies).

CONCORDIA

2. *RRC* 415; Syd. 926 (62 BC: Rome), L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus (supporter of Cicero) (denarius)
Obv. Head of CONCORDIA wearing veil and diadem; l. PAVLLVS·LEPIDVS upwards; r. CONCORDIA downwards (240 obv. dies).
Rev. Trophy; above, TER; r., togate figure (L. Aemilius Paullus); l., three captives (Perseus and his sons); in exergue, PAVLLVS (267 rev. dies).
3. *RRC* 417; Syd. 927 (62 BC: Rome), L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus (denarius)
Obv. Head of CONCORDIA r., wearing veil and diadem, l. PAVLLVS·LEPIDVS upwards; r., CONCORD downwards (26 obv. dies of 2 types (diff. rev.)).
Rev. Puteal Scribonianum, decorated with garland and two lyres; base, hammer or tongs; above, PVTEAL·SCRIBON; below, LIBO (29 rev. dies of two varieties).
4. *RRC* 429/2a–b; Syd. 901, 901a (55 BC: Rome), P. Fonteius Capito (denarius)

¹ The coins include those produced before and in 43 BC, the year of Cicero's death. Numerous representations of VICTORIA(E) have been excluded from this appendix, which includes only those cases in which VICTORIA features as a head/bust, usually on the obverse of the coin. Identification follows Crawford (1974). Zehnacker's interpretation (1973) of busts on *RRC* 343 and 462 (nos. 16 and 24) as LIBERTAS has been included (marked *), particularly given the interest of the VICTORIA VICTRIX on the reverses and her association with Cato. Sydenham (1952) further identified divine qualities on his 496, 596, 799, 800, 1012, 1017, 1018, 1052, and 1053 (Crawford (1974), 262/1, 343/1a–c, 405/1b, 454/3, 466/1, 462/1a and c).

Obv. Head of CONCORDIA r., wearing veil and diadem; around, P·FONTEIVS·CAPITO·III·VIR·CONCORDIA (39 obv. dies of two types).

Rev. Villa publica (gates attached to columns on some); l., T·DIDI downwards; below, IMP; r., VIL·PVB upwards (43 rev. dies of both types).

5. RRC 436/1; Syd. 930, 930a (52 BC: Rome), L. Vinicius (denarius)

Obv. Laureate head of CONCORDIA r.; before, CONCORDIAE or CONCORDIAI downwards. (< 10 obv. dies).

Rev. VICTORIA walking r., carrying palm-branch decorated with four wreaths; before, L·VINICI downwards (< 11 rev. dies).

CLASPED HANDS

6. RRC 480/6; Syd. 1063 (44 BC: Rome), L. Aemilius Buca (denarius)

Obv. Wreathed head of Caesar r.; before, CAESAR·DICT downwards; behind, PERPTVO upwards (11 obv. dies).

Rev. *Fasces* (without axe) and *caduceus* in saltire; l., axe; r., globe; above, clasped hands; below, L·BVCA downwards (17 rev. dies).

FELICITAS

7. RRC 473/3; Syd. 962 (45 BC: Rome), Palikanus (quinarius)

Obv. Head of FELICITAS r., wearing diadem; behind, FELICITATIS downwards (2 obv. dies).

Rev. VICTORIA in biga r., holding reins in l. hand and wreath in r. hand; in exergue, PALIKANI (2 rev. dies).

caduceus

See no. 6

FIDES

8. RRC 454/1–2; Syd. 954, 954a, b, 955 (47 BC: Rome), A. Licinius Nerva (denarius)

Obv. Laureate head of FIDES r.; before, FIDES downwards; behind, NERVA or A·LICINIUS downwards (< 96 obv. dies).

Rev. Horseman galloping r., with r. hand dragging naked warrior, who holds shield in l. hand and sword in r. hand; below A·LICINI(V(S)); l. III; r. VIR. or below, NERVA; around, III VIR (106 rev. dies of both types).

FORTUNA

9. *RRC* 405/2; Syd. 801 (69 BC: Rome), M. Plaetorius Cestianus (denarius)
Obv. Female bust r., draped (? FORTUNA) (12 obv. dies).
Rev. Half-length figure of boy facing, holding tablet inscribed SORS;
around, M·PLAETORI·CEST·S·C (13 rev. dies).
10. *RRC* 440/1; Syd. 938 (49 BC: Rome), Q. Sicinius (denarius)
Obv. Head of FORTUNA POPULI ROMANI r., wearing diadem; before,
FORT downwards; behind, P·R upwards (129 obv. dies).
Rev. Palm-branch tied with fillet and winged *caduceus*, in saltire; above,
wreath; below, Q SICINIVS; on either side, III VIR (143 rev. dies).
See also no. 53

HONOS and VIRTUS

11. *RRC* 401/1; Syd. 798 (71 BC: Rome), Mn. Aquillius (denarius serratus)
Obv. Helmeted bust of VIRTUS r., draped; before, VIRTUS upwards;
behind, III VIR downwards (88 obv. dies).
Rev. Warrior, holding shield in l. hand and raising up fallen figure with
r. hand; below, SICIL; r., M·AQVIL upwards; l., M·F·M·N downwards
(98 rev. dies).
12. *RRC* 403; Syd. 797 (70 BC: Rome), Q. Fufius Calenus and 'Cordus'
(denarius serratus)
Obv. Jugate heads of HONOS and VIRTUS r.; l., HO; r., VIR; below, KALENI
(26 obv. dies).
Rev. Italia (l.) and Roma (r.) clasping hands; between clasped hands,
cornucopiae; behind Italia, *caduceus*; Roma wears diadem, holds *fascēs*
in l. hand and places r. foot on globe; l., ITA; r., RO; in exergue, CORDI
(29 rev. dies).
13. *RRC* 473/2 a–d; Syd. 961 (45 BC: Rome), M. Lollius Palicanus (denarius)
Obv. Laureate head of HONOS, r., behind, HONORIS downwards (< 30
obv. dies for all four varieties).
Rev. Curule chair (garlanded and/or with wreath); on either side, corn-
ear; above, PALIKANVS (< 33 rev. dies).

LIBERTAS

14. *RRC* 266/1; Syd. 502 (126 BC: Rome), C. Cassius (denarius)
Obv. Helmeted head of Roma r.; behind, voting urn (88 obv. dies).

- Rev. LIBERTAS in quadriga, r., holding reins and rod in l. hand and *pileus* in r. hand; below, C·CASSI; in exergue, ROMA (110 rev. dies).
15. RRC 270/1; Syd. 513 (125 BC: Rome), M. Porcius Laeca (denarius)
Obv. Helmeted head of Roma r.; behind, LAECA downwards (197 obv. dies).
Rev. LIBERTAS, crowned by flying VICTORIA, in quadriga r., holding reins and rod in l. hand and *pileus* in r. hand; below, M·PORC; in exergue, ROMA (246 rev. dies).
16. RRC 343/1a–c*; Syd. 596, 596a (89 BC: Rome), M. Cato (denarii)
Obv. Female bust r., draped, hair tied with band (? Roma/? LIBERTAS) with sceptre over shoulder; behind, ROMA; below, M·CATO (116 obv. dies all varieties).
Rev. VICTORIA seated r., holding *patra* in r. hand and palm-branch in l. hand, over l. shoulder; in exergue, VICTRIX (129 rev. dies all varieties).
17. RRC 391/1a, b; Syd. 786, 786a (75 BC: Rome), C. Egnatius Maxsumus (denarius serratus)
Obv. Bust of Venus r., draped and wearing diadem, with Cupid on shoulder; behind, MAXSVMVS downwards (9 obv. dies of both varieties).
Rev. LIBERTAS in biga, crowned by flying VICTORIA; behind, *pileus*; in exergue, C·EGNATIVS·CN·F CN·N (9 rev. dies of both types).
18. RRC 391/2; Syd. 788 (75 BC: Rome), C. Egnatius Maxsumus (denarius)
Obv. Bust of Cupid r., with bow and quiver over shoulder; behind, MAXSVMVS downwards (20 obv. dies) [Hersh (1977) knows 23 and estimates 32, although he misattributes a claim of 22 to Crawford].
Rev. Distyle temple; within, two figures (figure on l. with staff in r. hand); above figure on l., thunderbolt; above figure on r., *pileus*; below, C·EGNATIVS·CN·F; r., CN·N upwards (22 rev. dies).
19. RRC 391/3; Syd. 787, 787a (75 BC: Rome), C. Egnatius Maxsumus (denarius)
Obv. Bust of LIBERTAS r., draped and wearing diadem; behind, *pileus* and MAXSVMVS downwards (30 obv. dies).
Rev. Roma and Venus, each holding staff in r. hand (Roma holds sword in l. hand and places l. foot on wolf's head; Venus has Cupid about to alight on shoulder); on either side, rudder standing on prow; below, C·EGNATIVS·CN·F; r., CN·N upwards (33 rev. dies).
20. RRC 392/1a, b; Syd. 789, 789a (75 BC: Rome), L. Farsuleius Mensor (denarius)
Obv. Bust of LIBERTAS r., draped and wearing diadem; behind, *pileus*;

before, MENSOR upwards; below chin/behind, s-c (87 obv. dies of both types) [Hersh (1977) estimates 118 to Crawford's 51 for 392/1a].

Rev. Warrior holding spear and reining in biga r. with l. hand; with r. hand he assists togate figure into biga; below, scorpion; in exergue, L·FARSVLEI (97 rev. dies of both types).

21. *RRC 428/2*; Syd. 918 (c.55 BC: Rome), Q. Cassius (denarius)
Obv. Head of LIBERTAS r.; l., LIBERT upwards; r., Q·CASSIVS downwards (60 obv. dies).
Rev. Temple of Vesta; within, curule chair; l., urn; r., tablet inscribed A C (67 rev. dies).
22. *RRC 433/1*; Syd. 906, 906a (54 BC: Rome), M. Iunius Brutus (denarius)
Obv. Head of LIBERTAS r.; behind, LIBERTAS downwards (156 obv. dies).
Rev. L. Iunius Brutus, cos. 509, walking l., between two lictors and preceded by an *accensus*; in exergue, BRVTVS (173 rev. dies).
23. *RRC 449/4*; Syd. 949 (48 BC: Rome), C. Vibius Pansa (denarius)
Obv. Laureate head of LIBERTAS r.; behind, LIBERTATIS downwards (33 obv. dies).
Rev. Roma (r. breast bare) seated r. on pile of arms, wearing helmet, holding sceptre in r. hand and placing l. foot on globe; r., flying VICTORIA crowning Roma; l., C·PANSA·C·F·C·N downwards (37 rev. dies).
24. *RRC 462/1a-c**; Syd. 1052–1053a (47–6 BC: Africa), M. Cato
Obv. Female bust r., draped, hair tied (with band) (? Roma ? LIBERTAS); behind, ROMA; before, M·CATO·PRO·PR upwards (< 30 obv. dies all varieties).
Rev. VICTORIA seated r., holding *patera* or wreath in r. hand and palm-branch in l. hand, over l. shoulder; in exergue, VICTRIX (< 33 rev. dies all varieties).
25. *RRC 473/1*; Syd. 960, 960a (45 BC: Rome), M. Lollius Palicanus (denarius)
Obv. Head of LIBERTAS r., behind, LIBERTATIS downwards (39 obv. dies).
Rev. Rostra on which stands *subsellium*; above, PALIKANVS (43 rev. dies).
26. *RRC 498/1*; Syd. 1302 (43–42: mint moving with Cassius), C. Cassius with M. Aquinus (aureus)
Obv. Head of LIBERTAS r., wearing diadem; below, LIBERTAS; behind, M·AQVINVS·LEG downwards (< 10 obv. dies).
Rev. Tripod with cauldron, decorated with two laurel-branches; l., C·CASSI upwards; r., PR·COS upwards (< 10 rev. dies).
27. *RRC 500/2–5*; Syd. 1304–7 (43–42 BC: mint moving with Brutus and Cassius), Lentulus Spinther (two aurei, two denarii).

- Obv. Head of LIBERTAS r., wearing diadem; before, LEIBERTAS upwards; behind, C·CASSI·IMP upwards (< 20 obv. dies for both aureus types, < 60 obv. dies for both denarius types).
Rev. Jug and *lituus*; below, LENTVLVS. SPINT (< 20 rev. dies for both aureus types, < 66 for both denarius types).
28. RRC 501/1; Syd. 1287 (43–2 BC: mint moving with Brutus), M. Iunius Brutus (denarius)
Obv. Head of LIBERTAS r.; before, LEIBERTAS upwards (< 30 obv. dies).
Rev. *Plectrum*, lyre, and laurel-branch tied with fillet; around, CAEPIO·BRVTVS PRO·COS (< 33 rev. dies).
29. RRC 502/1–3; Syd. 1289–91 (43–42 BC: mint moving with Brutus), L. Sestius (aureus, denarius, quinarius)
Obv. Head of LIBERTAS r., draped and wearing veil; before, L·SESTI upwards; behind, PRO·Q downwards (2 obv. dies for aureus, < 30 for denarius and < 10 for quinarius).
Rev. Aureus and denarius: tripod; l., axe; r., *simpulum*; around, Q·CAEPIO·BRVTVS·PRO·COS (2 rev. dies for aureus, < 33 for denarius).
Quinarius: VICTORIA walking r., holding palm-branch over l. shoulder with l. hand and wreath in r. hand; inscription as on aureus and denarius (< 11 rev. dies).
30. RRC 505/1–5; Syd. 1311–14 (43–42 BC: mint moving with Brutus and Cassius), M. Servilius (1 and 4 are aurei, 2, 3, and 5 are denarii)
Obv. Laureate head of LIBERTAS r.; behind, C·CASSI·IMP upwards (< 62 obv. dies for 3 denarii types, 40 obv. dies for aurei types).
Rev. various.
31. RRC 506/3; Syd. 1288 (43–42 BC: mint moving with Brutus) M. Brutus (quinarius)
Obv. Diademed head of LIBERTAS r.; before, LEIBERTAS upwards (< 10 obv. dies).
Rev. Prow-stem and anchor in saltire (< 11 rev. dies).

pileus

32. RRC 508/3; Syd. 1301 (43–42 BC: mint moving with Brutus), L. Plaetorius Cestus (denarius)
Obv. Head of Brutus r., bearded; around, clockwise, BRVT·IMP; around, anti-clockwise, L·PLAET·CEST (< 30 obv. dies).
Rev. *Pileus* between two daggers; below, EID·MAR (< 33 rev. dies).

PAX

33. *RRC* 366*; Syd. 748 (82–1 BC: N. Italy and Spain), C. Annius (denarii)
Obv. Female bust r., draped and wearing diadem; (before, scales); (behind, winged *caduceus*); around, C·ANNI(VS)·T·F·T·N·PRO·COS·EX·S·C (130 obv. dies of all varieties).
Rev. VICTORIA in a quadriga r., holding reins in l. hand and palm-branch in r. hand; in exergue, L·FABI·L·F·HISP Q in various arrangements/C·TARQVITI·P·F, horses below (142 reverse types of all varieties) [For 366/4, for which Crawford claims 34 dies, Hersh knows 37 and estimates 48].
34. *RRC* 480/24; Syd. 1065 (44 BC: Rome), L. Aemilius Buca (quinarius)
Obv. Head of PAX r.; behind, PAXS upwards (< 10 obv. dies).
Rev. Clasped hands; around O, L·AEMILIVS·BVCA·IIIVIR (< 11 rev. dies).
35. *RRC* 485/1*; Syd. 1089 (43 BC: Rome), L. Flaminius Chilo (denarius)
Obv. Laureate head of Caesar r.
Rev. PAX (or Venus?) standing l., holding *caduceus* in r. hand and sceptre in l. hand; r., L·FLAMINIVS downwards; l., IIII·VIR upwards (< 33 rev. dies).

PIETAS

36. *RRC* 308/1a–b; Syd. 567, 567a (108/7 BC: Rome), M. Herennius (denarius)
Obv. Head of PIETAS r., wearing diadem; behind, PIETAS downwards (246 obv. dies of both varieties) [For 308/1a, Crawford knows 120, but Hersh knows 135 and estimates 166].
Rev. One of Catanaean brothers running r., bearing his father on his shoulders; l., M. HERENNI downwards (308 rev. dies of both varieties).
37. *RRC* 374/1–2; Syd. 750–1 (81 BC: N. Italy), Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius (denarii)
Obv. Head of PIETAS r., wearing diadem; before, stork (118 obv. dies of both varieties).
Rev. 374/1 Elephant l.; in exergue, Q·C·M·P·I (98 rev. dies).
374/2 Jug and *lituus*; in exergue, IMPER; laurel-wreath border (33 rev. dies).
38. *RRC* 450/2; Syd. 942 (48 BC: Rome), D. Iunius Brutus Albinus (denarius)
Obv. Head of PIETAS r.; behind, PIETAS downwards (171 obv. dies).
Rev. Two hands clasped round *caduceus*; below, ALBINVS·BRVTI·F (190 rev. dies).
39. *RRC* 477/1a–b, 2, 3a–b; Syd. 1041–43 (45–44 BC: Spain), Sextus Magnus Pius (denarii)

Obv. Head of Cn. Pompeius Magnus r. (or Cn. Pompeius junior on 477/2); SEX·MAGN(VS) (PIVS IMP) (SA(L)) in various permutations.
 Rev. PIETAS standing l., holding palm-branch in r. hand and sceptre in l. hand; behind, PIETAS downwards (9 rev. dies, all varieties).

SALVS

40. RRC 337/2a–f; Syd. 645, 645a–d (91 BC: Rome), D. Iunius Silanus (denarii)
 Obv. Head of SALVS (SA(L)VS below on some varieties) (61 obv. dies all varieties).
 Rev. VICTORIA in biga r., holding palm-branch and reins in l. hand and whip in r. hand; below, ROMA; in exergue, D·SILANVS·L·F (68 rev. dies all varieties).
41. RRC 442/1a, b; Syd. 922 (49 BC: Rome), M' Acilius (denarius)
 Obv. Laureate head of SALVS r.; behind, SALVTIS upwards/downwards (651 obv. dies of both types).
 Rev. VALETUDO standing l., resting arm on column and holding snake in r. hand; r., M ACILIVS downwards; l., III·VIR·VALEV upwards (723 rev. dies of both types).

VICTORIA

42. RRC 306/1; Syd. 565 (108/7 BC: Rome), L. Valerius Flaccus (denarius)
 Obv. Bust of VICTORIA r., draped (150 obverse dies).
 Rev. Mars walking l., holding spear with point downwards in r. hand and trophy over l. shoulder; before, *apex*; behind, corn-ear; l., L·VALERI FLACCI downwards (187 rev. dies).
43. RRC 341/3; Syd. 693 (90 BC: Rome), Q. Titius (quinarius)
 Obv. Bust of VICTORIA r., draped (250 obv. dies).
 Rev. Pegasus r., below, Q·TITI (278 rev. dies).
44. RRC 342/9a–b; Syd. 690g (90 BC: Rome), C. Vibius Pansa (quadrans)
 Obv. Bust of VICTORIA r., draped (3 specimens).
 Rev. Prow r., above, C·VIBI(·A).
45. RRC 365/1a–c; Syd. 747–747b (82 BC: Massalia), C. Valerius Flaccus (denarii)
 Obv. Bust of VICTORIA r., draped (36 obv. dies of all varieties).
 Rev. Legionary eagle; l., standard of manipule of *hastati*; r., standard of manipule of *principes*; below EX S·C; l., C·VA·FLA upwards; r., IMPERAT upwards (39 rev. dies all varieties).

46. *RRC 464/4*; Syd. 986 (46 BC: Rome), T. Carisius (denarius)
Obv. Bust of VICTORIA r. (75 obv. dies).
Rev. VICTORIA in biga r., holding reins in l. hand and wreath in r. hand;
in exergue, T·CARISI (83 rev. dies).
47. *RRC 464/5*; Syd. 985 (46 BC: Rome), T. Carisius (denarius)
Obv. Draped bust of VICTORIA, r.; behind, s·c downwards (186 obv. dies).
Rev. VICTORIA in quadriga, and as no. 34 (207 rev. dies).
48. *RRC 464/6*; Syd. 987 (46 BC: Rome), T. Carisius (quinarius)
Obv. Bust of VICTORIA, r., draped, with palm-branch, sometimes tied
with fillet, over shoulder (< 10 obv. dies).
Rev. Roma seated l. on pile of arms, holding sceptre in l. hand and
sword in r. hand, and placing r. foot on helmet; r., T·CARISI downwards
(< 11 rev. dies).
49. *RRC 472/3*; Syd. 966 (45 BC: Rome), L. Papius Celsus (quinarius)
Obv. Bust of VICTORIA (< 10 obv. dies).
Rev. Girl and snake facing each other; l., L·PAPIVS downwards; r.,
CELSVS downwards (< 11 rev. dies).
50. *RRC 474/6*; Syd. 1004 (45 BC: Rome), L. Valerius Acisculus (quinarius)
Obv. *Acisculus*; around, ACISCVLVS (< 10 obv. dies).
Rev. Bust of VICTORIA (< 11 rev. dies).
51. *RRC 475*; Syd. 1019–20 (45 BC: Rome), L. Plancius and C. Caesar (2
aurei, 1 half-aureus)
Obv. Bust of VICTORIA, draped; behind, C·CAES upwards; before,
DIC·TER downwards (50 obv. dies for both varieties of aureus, < 10
for half-aureus).
Rev. l., Jug; L·PLANC upwards; r., PR(AEF)·VRB downwards (50 rev. dies
for both varieties of aureus, < 10 for half-aureus).
52. *RRC 476*; Syd. 1025–6 (45 BC: mint uncertain) C. Clovius and C. Caesar
(bronze)
Obv. Bust of VICTORIA r., draped; before, CAESAR·DIC·TER.
Rev. Minerva standing l., holding trophy over shoulder with r. hand and
with l. hand holding spear and shield, decorated with *gorgoneion*, and
from which hang streamers; before, snake; l., C·CLOVI downwards; r.,
PRAEF upwards.
53. *RRC 480/25*; Syd. 1078 (44 BC: Rome), P. Sepullius Macer (quinarius)
Obv. Bust of VICTORIA r., draped and wearing diadem (< 10 obv. dies).
Rev. FORTUNA standing l., holding rudder in r. hand and *cornucopiae*
in l. hand; behind, P·SEPVLLIVS downwards; before, MACER upwards
(< 11 rev. dies).

APPENDIX 4

The Capitoline Temple of OPS and its Founder(s)

1. Livy 39.22.4 (for the year 186)

‘One day was added to the *supplicatio*, by decree of the pontiffs, because the temple of OPS on the Capitol had been struck by lightning.’
addita et unum diem supplicatio est ex decreto pontificum, quod aedes OPIS in Capitolio de caelo tacta erat.

(Obseq. 3 (for the same year): ‘the temple of Iuppiter on the Capitol was struck by lightning’; *aedes Iovis in Capitolio fulmine icta*).

2. Plin. *HN* 11.174 (in the context of a discussion of tongues)

‘We hear that the pontiff Metellus had [a tongue] so inarticulate that he is believed to have allowed himself to be tortured for many months, while he was preparing what he was to say in dedicating the temple of OPS †Opifera.’

Metellum pontificem adeo inexplanatae [linguae] fuisse accipimus, ut multis mensibus tortus credatur, dum meditatur in dedicando aedi OPI †Opiferae dicere.

3. *Fasti Fratrum Arvalium*, 23 August (Volcanalia): OPI OPIFER(AE) [IN - - -].
4. *Fasti Vallenses*, 25 August (Opiconsivia): OPI[I] IN CAPITOLIO.
5. *Fasti Antiates Maiores*, 19 December (Opalia): OPI.
6. *Fasti Amiternini*, 19 December (Opalia): OPI AD FORUM.¹

Many attempts have been made to identify the Capitoline temple of OPS, on the basis of highly fragmentary, and sometimes contradictory, information.² Given the state of the evidence, no definitive answer can be found.

The passage of Livy (1), the earliest to mention the temple on the Capitol, is slightly contradicted by the corresponding text of Obsequens, in which the

¹ *Inscr. Ital.* XIII 2, pp. 30–1, 148–9, 25, 198–9.

² There was also a *sacrarium* of OPS in the Regia, a sacrifice was carried out to OPS *ad forum*, and on 8 August AD 7 an altar to OPS *Augusta* was dedicated.

nearby temple of Iuppiter is described as the victim of the lightning strike. Schmidt was right to wonder whether a confusion of *OPIS* and *Iovis* in the Livian text might be responsible here.³ If the passage of Obsequens is correct, then there is no attestation of a Capitoline temple to OPS before Caesar placed in it, and Mark Antony removed from it, the 700 million *sesterces* much talked of by Cicero (*Att.* 14.14.5; *Phil.* 1.17, 2.35, 2.93, 5.15, 8.26; *Vell. Pat.* 2.60.4) and the prodigy of 44 (*Obseq.* 68).⁴ It may be the very rarity of the reference to the Capitoline temple at an early date which creates unwillingness to abandon it. If the fault lies with the text of Obsequens the Livian text can still be used.

The text of Pliny is not secure at the key moment when the name of the deity is mentioned. The word *OPIFERAE* always appears, in many variant spellings, while the oldest codex (M) gives *OPIFAERAE* [*sic*] *OPIFERAE*. Jordan's restoration of *OPI OPIFERAE*, the deity known from the *fasti fratrum Arvalium*, is now widely accepted, but alternative suggestions have included *OPI VERBA*, *OPIS VERBA*, *OPIS VERE*, and *OPIFERAE*.⁵ Jordan's restoration does have greater credibility, and the focus of the story—Metellus' stammering—surely lends itself, moreover, to the reading *OPI OPIFERAE*.⁶ When considering how far the scant pieces of evidence may be combined, it is nonetheless important to remember that the restoration of (2) is partly based upon the information of (3).

If we accept the reading of *OPI OPIFERAE* in Pliny, we must ask to which temple he refers, whether it is the same temple as that mentioned by Livy (if Livy did mention a temple to OPS), and, if so, when and by whom it was built. If the temple of OPS *OPIFERA*, as many believe, was that *ad forum*,⁷ then the anecdote about Metellus has no connection to the Capitoline temple. The lacuna in the *fasti fratri Arvalium* could be restored *in foro*, but since neither of the calendars preserving record of the Opalia (19 December)—one of which specifies *ad forum*—mention the epithet *opifera*, and since the *fasti fratri Arvalium* record OPS *OPIFERA* on a different day (23 August) it seems more likely, by economy, that the temple in the *fasti fratri Arvalium* and in Pliny was that on the Capitol.⁸ That the two passages refer to the same

³ Schmidt (1968–9), 729–30.

⁴ *Contra* Schmidt (1968–9), 730, who claims the particular temple of OPS cannot be identified, this must be the Capitoline temple, given its proximity to that of *FIDES*.

⁵ Details in Köves-Zulauf (1972), 74 and, on this passage generally, 73–80.

⁶ *ibid.* 78.

⁷ e.g. Wissowa, Degraisi, Rohde, Platner-Ashby.

⁸ Restoring (with Jordan, Ziolkowski (1992) and Aronen (1996)) in *Capitolio* to the *fasti frat. Arv.*, Pouthier (1981), 179–83 suggests that the epithet *Opifera* was only given to the goddess during the Augustan period, and is the result in Pliny of an unconscious contamination, whether from an Augustan source or from recollection, which would complicate matters still further.

temple may find further support in a passage of Cicero (again, textually uncertain), in the letter to Atticus in which he discusses the statues on the Capitol *ab opis fparte posita* by Q. Caecilius Metellus Scipio, consul of 52.⁹ Although Coarelli has argued convincingly that the temple of OPS is here used by Cicero only as a topographical reference point, it is likely (as he himself concedes) that Metellus himself could have chosen a site for the statue near an edifice of importance to his family.¹⁰

The evidence of the *Fasti Vallenses*, however, suggests, in its entry for 25 August (4) that the Capitoline temple of OPS was that of OPS CONSIVA—otherwise attested as honoured in the Regia—and not OPS OPIFERA. Two explanations for this latter anomaly have been proposed. Pouthier (supported by Aronen) believes that the Regia cult was transferred to the Capitoline temple, which accounts for the evidence as it stands (although the *fasti fratri Arvalium* mention *only* OPS Consiva in the Regia on 25 August). Coarelli (followed by Ziolkowski) considers the entry in the *fasti Vallenses* to be erroneous, showing what should be the entry for 23 August on 25 August. Other erroneous entries can be found on the surviving fragments of the same calendar, which cover in total only around fifty days of the year. Two of them involve the misplacement of a festival by one day.¹¹ If Coarelli is right then OPS on the Capitol will have had a different festival day, 23 August, in line with the evidence of the *fasti fratri Arvalium*, whose lacuna should then be completed *in Capitolio*.

If Livy did refer to a temple of OPS being struck by lightning in 186, the temple to OPS on the Capitol must have existed in that year. It is unnecessary to follow Pouthier's specious justification for the temple consequently having been built in the second half of third century (and not after Trasimene, but in the spate of building in the First Punic War). He bases this on Livy's importing more or less verbatim into this passage a text of Calpurnius Piso who, because he was 'chronologically close' to the event in question in 186, would have known *and mentioned* if this temple had been recently built, since this would have added to the importance of the prodigy.¹² It is simpler to assume that the foundation had been narrated in the missing years of Livy, hence between 292 and 219, because Livy mentions a prodigy affecting the temple in 186 but not its foundation.

⁹ Cic. Att. 6.1.17; alternative possibilities proposed include *ab opis per te posita*, *ab opis Opiferae posita*, and *ab opis parte postica*. See Ziolkowski (1992), 122.

¹⁰ Coarelli (1969), 150, see further below n. 24.

¹¹ Coarelli (1969), 148; cf. Pouthier (1981), 152, who describes the entry in the *Fasti Vallenses* as 'precise and deserving much credit'.

¹² Pouthier (1981), 141 (emphasis added).

In this case, two candidates for founder have been suggested: L. Caecilius Metellus (consul 251 and 247, and *pontifex*), or A. Atilius Calatinus known to have founded temples to SPES and FIDES in the 250s/240s on the Capitol, which would have been in visual or physical proximity to that of OPS. The former possibility is supported by Morgan, Ziolkowski, and Coarelli,¹³ the latter proposed by Pouthier¹⁴ and accepted (as fact) by Freyburger.¹⁵ The latter suggestion may be quickly disposed of. Although no concrete evidence may be brought to bear against it, neither may any in its favour, beyond the physical proximity of the three temples.¹⁶ The best Metellan candidate from this period was in any event Calatinus' *magister equitum* during the latter's dictatorship in 249, which could adequately explain connections between these temple locations and deities receiving temples. Two pieces of evidence have been cited against L. Caecilius Metellus as founder: Pliny refers to him in another passage as *optimus orator*, and Valerius Maximus claims that during his twenty-two years as *pontifex maximus* Metellus' voice never faltered as he uttered vows in public ceremonies,¹⁷ both of which tell against his identification with the subject of Pliny's anecdote at 11.174. Morgan, however, has drawn upon these two pieces of evidence in support of L. Caecilius Metellus being the temple's founder, on the grounds that Pliny's use of the words *accipimus* and *credatur* suggests that Pliny was aware of the contradiction between this story and Metellus' reputation as *optimus orator* (which, in Morgan's view, in Pliny's source probably in fact referred to political *savoir faire* rather than oratorical capacity) and hence sought to cast doubt upon the tale he was recounting. Valerius Maximus, too, in Morgan's opinion, aware of the slur upon Metellus, was also reacting to it, and attempting to contradict it. Ziolkowski is not convinced by this explanation, which I find rather attractive. Further elements have been adduced in favour of L. Caecilius Metellus. Morgan has identified both a possible reason for a vow to OPS and a means for founding the temple. The vow would have been made at Panormos in 250, during the battle against Hasdrubal—at harvest time—when Hasdrubal was destroying the fields. If Metellus had lost that important battle he risked losing the vital support of Sicilian allies, while the

¹³ Coarelli (1969), 146–50; Morgan (1973); Ziolkowski (1992), 122–5.

¹⁴ Pouthier (1981).

¹⁵ Freyburger (1986), 300.

¹⁶ On this reasoning, as Ziolkowski (1992), 125 n. 28 remarks, we could also attribute to Atilius the temple to Ianus in the Forum Holitorium (and known to have been founded by Duilius). Pouthier is also at pains to emphasize the 'abstract' connection of the deities.

¹⁷ Plin. *HN* 7.140; Val. Max. 8.13.2.

booty won from it could have funded a temple foundation.¹⁸ Coarelli has noted that *Metellus pontifex* usually refers in extant texts, and in Pliny himself, to the Metellus who fought in the First Punic War.¹⁹ This latter argument has been challenged by Pouthier on the grounds that the references in question do not amount to a formula, because they often include other descriptive elements such as 'consul' or 'dictator' and also nearly all refer to the famous episode in which L. Metellus is said to have saved the Palladium, in which context his status as *pontifex* is important rather than an accepted or conventional label. This criticism should stand.²⁰

Even if L. Metellus, consul of 251 and 247, is allowed to be the best candidate for a third-century founder, a further issue concerns whether the foundation mentioned by Pliny must have been in the third century, or whether the founder may not rather have been (as most scholars assume) Metellus Delmaticus, the consul of 119 and son-in-law of M. Aemilius Scaurus.²¹ One objection made to this identification is that the temple that Livy describes as standing in 186 cannot have been founded *after* this date.²² It is possible, however, either, as we have seen, that Livy did not refer to the temple's existence in 186, or, if he did, that the episode described by Pliny refers to a *refoundation*. Ziolkowski attempts to refute such an idea by claiming that 'a dedication is the original dedication unless proven to be a rededication'.²³ Although a viable general rule, this can hardly be brought to bear upon a scrap of evidence as slight as Pliny's anecdote, in which the precise type of dedication (although not the words used in it) is irrelevant. Coarelli has attempted to counter an assumption, based upon the letter to Atticus (6.1.17) cited above, that Metellus' *proavus*, to whom a statue had been put up, was Delmaticus, for this assumption is part of the basis for his identification as the founder of the temple that Cicero mentions.²⁴

¹⁸ Morgan (1973), 138. His supposition that any such temple had to be founded *de manubiis* is exaggerated, but this argument is superficially attractive. One naturally cannot, however, draw conclusions about ways in which ops was understood from a hypothesis built upon such insecure foundations.

¹⁹ Coarelli (1969), 149 n. 1 with examples, including Plin. *HN* 7.141.

²⁰ Pouthier (1981).

²¹ Ziolkowski (1992), 125 n. 29 rightly notes that Pouthier (1981), 191 draws too heavily on the marriage connection in making his identification, but he errs in claiming both that Delmaticus was Scaurus' colleague as censor (this was M. Livius Drusus) and that Pouthier had said so. What Pouthier (rightly) claimed was that Delmaticus was censor in 115 when Scaurus was consul.

²² e.g. Coarelli (1969).

²³ Ziolkowski (1992), 124.

²⁴ Coarelli (1969) arguing, as stated above, that the reference is (for Cicero) purely topographical, and that in any case Delmaticus was Metellus Scipio's adoptive grandfather.

One element in Delmaticus' favour, on the other hand, is his capacity or willingness to make a refoundation, attested (in part) by his refoundation of the temple of Castor in 117.

No conclusive answer can be reached. Doubt has been cast upon one of the calendrical entries, another is lacunose as to location, while there is an intrinsic question about each of the literary attestations, even before one begins to consider whether, or how, they may be used together. It is possible that the original foundation was made by L. Caecilius Metellus in the First Punic War, and that this temple was refounded by Metellus Delmaticus. Could the ambiguity of Pliny's tale in fact reflect confusion over which Metellus was meant, since both had been involved with the same temple?

APPENDIX 5

feliciter in Campanian Graffiti

Oral formulae from writing on walls in Pompeii, collected in *CIL* IV, acclaim the emperor and imperial judgements. These are to be understood either in connection with the lifting of the ban on gladiatorial shows imposed after the riot in the amphitheatre between Pompeians and Nucerians in AD 59 or with Nero's granting colonial status to Pompeii:

- 2460: *Aug(usto) / feli / citer* (large theatre, VIII.xx);
1074: *iudiciis Augusti Augustae feliciter / nobis salvis, felices summus / perpetuo* ('good fortune to the judgements of the Augustus and Augusta; while you are safe, we are fortunate for ever', painted in black);
3726: *iudici[i]s Augusti p(atris) p(atriae) et Poppaeae Aug(ustae) feliciter* ('good fortune to the judgements of the Augustus, father of his country, and of Poppaea Augusta' (AD 63–5), IX.vi);
528 and 1612: *iudici[i]s Aug(usti) felic(iter)* ('good fortune to the judgements of (the) Augustus'), both on the *vicolo Storto* in *regio* VII, 1612 above 1611);
820a: *[iudiciis Cae]sar[s] Augusti felicit(er)* ('good fortune to the judgements of Augustus Caesar', on the west side of the *vico del Lupanare* in *regio* VII, among the gladiatorial programmes, the 's' of *Caesaris* above *vela* in 1190);
3525: *iudici[i]s Aug(usti) felic(iter) puteolos antium tegeano pompeios hae sunt verae coloniae* ('good fortune to the judgements of the Augustus. Puteoli, Antium, Tegianum, Pompeii: these are the true colonies', VI.xv).

They also acclaim individuals:

- 165: *C. Pulnis? feliciter* (VI.x, on *via di Mercurio*);
917: *Nummiano / feliciter* (VII.i, on *via Stabiana*);
1087: *duo//bus f//abi//s feliciter* (*porticus* of the theatre, VIII.vii.20?; see also 1089, 1995, and 2503);
1098: *Regulo feliciter* (*cryptoporticus* of the amphitheatre, II.vi, see Tac. *Ann.* 14.17);
1101: *M. Antiscius / Messio feliciter* (*cryptoporticus* of the amphitheatre, II.vi);

- 1710: *Cornelio / Amando / feliciter* (via degli Augustali, regio VII, in tiny letters);
- 2383: *L. Popidio Secundo / Augustiano feliciter* (via Stabiana, in CIL IV 1045 Popidius Secundus was candidate for aedile);
- 3458: *Frontoni feliciter* (VII.xi);
- 3579: *Valeri / sit tibi FELIC[ITAS?]* ('Valerius, may you have FELICITAS'(?], VII.xi);
- 3825: *Munatio feliciter* (IX.viii);
- 5157: *Sirico feleciter* (IX.5);
- 6811: *M. Salario feliciter* (V.iii);
- 7243: *L. Ael(i)o Magno / feliciter Astylus (scripsit)* ('good fortune to Lucius Aelius Magnus, Astylus (wrote this)', I.vii);
- 7341: *L. Octavi[o] / feliciter* (I.x);
- 8098: *Alogosius fecit / Caro feliciter* ('Alogosius made this, good fortune to Carus', I.vii, with two applauding hands depicted below);
- 10035: *Faustoni / felic(iter)* (I.xii, clearly gladiatorial, to the right of the figure of a man moving his arms, itself below a depiction of a male, helmeted head);
- 10167: *Q. Postumio Modesto fil(i)citer* (II.viii);
- 10243a, b, c: *Raro / infelici/t[er]*, *Raro / infelici /ter*, *Caelio Maximo / feliciter*, and 10246d: *Maximo feliciter* (on the front of tombs outside the Nucerian Gate).

The individuals include those putting on shows of various kinds and other leaders of the colony at Pompeii:

- 1177: *Dedicatio <pol>e / ... rum muneris Cn. Allei Nigidi Mai / ... venatio athletae sparsiones / vela erunt. / Maio / principi coloniae / feliciter* ('At the dedication <Poly(bius)> of the games of Gnaeus Alleius Nigidius Maius... There will be a hunt, athletes, sprinklings, awnings. Good fortune to Maius, leader of the colony', courtyard of the Forum baths (VII.v) in red);
- 1190: *A. Sueti Certi / aedilis familia gladiatoria pugnabit pompeis / pr k iunias venatio et vela erunt / omnibus Nero[n] [mun]eribus feliciter* ('The gladiatorial troupe of Aulus Suetius Certus will fight at Pompeii on 31 May. There will be a hunt and awnings. Good fortune to all Neronian games', *vico del Lupanare*, regio VII);
- 1179: *Maio quinq[ennali] feliciter Paris* ('Good fortune to Maius, quinquennial, (from) Paris', via Nola, towards the crossroads with the via Stabiana, in black paint, cf. 8856, acclaiming in small letters (perhaps, the actor) Paris himself: *Paris, va(le) fel(iciter)*, III.iv);

- 7342: *defensoribus coloniae feliciter* ('good fortune to the defenders of the colony', I.x, painted in black);
- 1326: *benivolentibus felice(ter)* ('good fortune to well-wishers', *via di Mercurio*, regio VI);
- 1094: *Popidio Rufo invicto muneris / defensoribus colonorum feliciter* ('to Popidius Rufus, undefeated in the games, good fortune to the defenders of the colony', *porticus* of the large theatre, VIII.vii, below *CIL* IV 1184);
- 7343: [*Popidio Rufo feliciter. Dign*] *us est omnibus Pompeianis feliciter scripsit Infantio* ('Good fortune to Popidius Rufus. He is deserving. Good fortune to all Pompeians. Infantio wrote (this)', I.x, in black);
- 7346: *Popidio Rufo feliciter / dignus est* ('good fortune to Popidius Rufus, he is deserving', I.x, in black);
- 7989b, c: *Maio principi coloniae felic(iter)* and (*Ti.*) *Claudio Vero felic(iter)* ('good fortune to Maius, leader of the colony' and 'good fortune to Tiberius Claudius Verus', on a large poster, on the north external wall of the large palaestra by the amphitheatre (II.vii), advertising a hunt and athletics by Tiberius Claudius Verus for the *SALUS* of Nero);
- 7990: *Cn. Alleio Maio / principi munerarior / feliciter* ('good fortune to Gnaeus Alleius Maius, the leading games giver', from the corner of the north and eastern walls of the large palaestra, II.vii.7, in black);
- 8858: *Arruntio / fe / li / cite / r* (the letter of *feliciter* forming a pattern below the final 'o' of *Arruntio*, with a palm and phallus drawn below, III.iv);
- 9888: *Satrio / feliciter / Iustae feliciter / Valentinae feliciter / D(ecimo) L(ucretio) V(alenti) / feliciter* ('Good fortune to Satrius. Good fortune to Iusta. Good fortune to Valentina. Good fortune to D(ecimus) L(ucretius) V(alens)'); and
- 9889: *D(ecimo) Iustae / liberis feliciter* ('Good fortune to D(ecimus), Iusta and their children', both from II.vi.3, the family home. See Cooley and Cooley (2004), 144–6 on the Lucretii Valentes, and *CIL* IV 7454 (II.iii) and 7687 (III.iv) for further acclamations to these people.

They also acclaim communities, both Pompeians and others:

- 1512: *Nolanis feliciter* ('good fortune to the people of Nola', VI.xiv?);
- 1329: *Nucerinis / infelicia* ('bad fortune to the Nucerians', *via di Mercurio*, regio VI);
- 1611: *Salinesibus feliciter* ('good fortune to the Salinienses' [probably the inhabitants of the area around the 'Salt Gate', now the Herculaneum Gate], *vicolo Storto*, regio VII);
- 2152: *coloniae Clau(diae) / Neronesi Putiolanii / feliciter / scripsit C. Iulius Spiiratus* ('good fortune to the Claudian Neronian colony of Puteoli, Gaius Iulius Speratus wrote (this)', *vico d' Eumachia*, regio VII);

- 2183: *Puteolanis feliciter / omnibus Nucherinis / felicia et uncu(m) Pompeianis / Petecusanis* ('good fortune to the Puteolans; good luck to all Nucerians; the executioner's hook to the Pompeians', *vico del Lupanare*, regio VII, in the brothel);
- 4262: *coloniae Puteolanae feliciter* ('good fortune to the colony of Puteoli', V.ii);
- 6764: *Pompeianis Aug(ustis) feliciter* (V.iii);
- 8305: *Pompeianis fel(i)citer* (I.x, also 9144 from outside the Marine Gate).
- Other instances of *feliciter*: *CIL* IV 762, 918, 1084, 1118, 1186, 1534, 1837, 1908, 2134, 2933a, x, and y (y in Greek), 3068, 3172, 3816, 4134, 4496, 4707, 4876, 5574, and 9454 (on amphorae), 6865, 7360, 7569, 7780, 8076, 8325, 8499, 8585, 9144, and 9148 outside the *porta Marina*, 10049 (II.i).

The depictions and inscriptions are found all over town, in nearly every *regio*, especially around the amphitheatre, but also the large theatre, the brothel, and the outside walls of houses, outside some of the gates, and on tombs. A similar scattering appears to have been the case in Herculaneum.¹ The acclamations in Pompeii are unsurprisingly closely connected with the games, but acclaim not only participants (gladiators, for example), but also providers of large games, and also appear in contexts or guises suggesting a connection with money and/or gambling (*fel(iciter)*, for example, is found underneath the central set of three columns of numbers scratched onto one of the columns in the campus attached to the amphitheatre), and others now impossible to determine (*CIL* IV 8579, on the twentieth column). *fel(iciter)* *Faustio* appears on the next column (*CIL* IV 8584; cf. 8585). On another column a young man, perhaps, has written, '[h]ic sumus / felices / valiamus [= valeamus] recte' ('Here we are *felices* ["lucky"] and well', *CIL* IV 8657 (cf. 8670)). At Euxinus' inn in *regio* I, a painted sign depicted a phoenix with two peacocks facing it, and above the right-hand peacock was written in black: *phoenix felix et tu* ('the phoenix is *felix* ["lucky"], and may you be too', *CIL* IV 9850 (I.xi.10–11)).

Other divine qualities feature less frequently, but in a variety of contexts, again suggesting that they were drawn on by 'ordinary' people as well as élites. A number of surviving graffiti make reference to the riot in the Pompeian amphitheatre in AD 59 described by Tacitus. The Pompeian *VICTORIA* in that brawl may be celebrated in the text accompanying a graffiti

¹ In Herculaneum there are examples from *insulae* III (*CIL* IV 10511, from a latrine), IV (10482, 10700, and 10705 in the *vicus* below *insula* IV), VI (10595), *Orientalis* I (10622), and possibly from the corridor leading to the *cavea* of the theatre (10491), with 10487 beyond the *decumanus maximus*. In Pompeii the only *regiones* from which there are no definite attestations are IV (largely unexcavated) and VIII.

drawing of a victorious gladiator brandishing a palm, from the façade of the House of the Dioscuri: *Campani VICTORIA una / cum Nucerinis peristis* ('Campanians, you perished along with the Nucерians in one VICTORIA', *CIL* IV 1293 = *ILS* 6443a; cf. IV 1329, and Tac. *Ann.* 14.17). Among the snatches of the *Aeneid* and other literary texts found, sometimes adapted, written on walls around the town, is coarse, squared lettering, written between lines on the *porticus* of the house of the Vestals. Its first line echoes *Aeneid* IX.269. The second (*VIRTVTIS merces palmam pretium gloriae VICTORIAE SPES causas*, 'gifts of VIRTUS, *palm* and price of *gloria*, causes and SPES of VICTORIA', *CIL* IV 1237), might have some link with *Aen.* 5.110 (*palmae pretium victoribus*). Zangemeister, who attributed the lines to a boy remembering what he had learned at school (by repeating it back to his master), initially thought the boy had remembered badly, but later suggested (in the *corrigenda*) that the writer wished less to convey the meaning of the Virgilian *sententia* than to write down the letters and vocabulary. As Horsfall has pointed out, there is no reason to suppose that the author was a schoolboy, rather than someone who had learned their Virgil in the theatre, for example, or a home-taught slave.² Whoever the writer, we should note some of the words remembered or chosen for inscription: SALUS, VIRTUS, *palm*, VICTORIA, and SPES, assuredly meaningful or familiar, or even important, to whoever chose to scratch them on the *porticus*. *hic habitat FELICITAS* ('here lives FELICITAS') declared letters above an oven in a bakery, scratched above and below an apotropaic relief phallus (*CIL* IV 1454). On the wall of a room in a brothel, together with many graffiti recording sexual prowess, are the declarations 'VERA VICTORIA' ('real VICTORIA'), 'VICTRIX VICTORIAM' and 'VICTORIA INVICTA HIC' ('VICTORIA unconquered here'), 'VICTORIA', and 'VICTORIE A V' (*CIL* IV 2225, 2212, 2226, 2227, 2228). Some of these may refer once again to the games, but it seems more likely that the divine quality is used in reference to sexual conquest, particularly in the first and third. Graffiti in a *thermopolium* play, through the meaning of Sulla's claimed title 'Felix', with whether it was deserved: *Sul(l)a felix? infelix? and (Sulla) [inf]elix? felix!* (*CIL* IV 9099 and 9100 (IX.xi)).

² Horsfall (1991, 1995, 2003) and Franklin Jr. (1991) consider a wider range of possible writers for (adapted) quotations of this kind in graffiti. VIRTUS also occurs in *CIL* IV 8922, a graffiti of uncertain reading: *solet[i]s si VIRTUS inqvis [or in qvis = qvibus?]* ('you (pl.) are accustomed, if VIRTUS in which...').

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